

# LABOR AGE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

## DISARMAMENT!

HARRY ELMER BARNES

---

### *THE CRISIS IN THE MINERS' UNION*

A. J. Muste

---

### How Employers Kept Their Promise to Hoover

---

### STRIKE PROHIBITION

*A Review by Arthur Garfield Hays*

MARCH, 1930

25 CENTS

## LABOR AGE

Vol. XIX—No. 3

March, 1930

## CONTENTS

EDITORIALS:	Page
HOW NOT TO DISARM, ANOTHER I. L. G. VICTORY, THE RIGHT TO CRITICIZE, WORKERS EDUCATION—WHERE AND HOW? MONEY SPENT ON SOUTHERN ORGANIZING WORK, THE GOOD OLD AMERICAN WAGE THEORY, PRIVATE CHARITY ABETS CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE.....	1
THE CRISIS IN THE MINERS' UNION.....A. J. Muste	4
HOW EMPLOYERS KEPT THEIR PROMISE .....	9
TAXI STRIKE STIRS PITTSBURGH WORKERS William E. Chalmers	10
FLASHES FROM THE LABOR WORLD.....Harvey O'Connor	12
DISARMAMENT!.....Harry Elmer Barnes	14
INDEPENDENT WORKERS CLASSES FLOURISH..Helen G. Norton	18
FOLLOWING THE FIGHT.....Louis Francis Budenz	19
THE MARCH OF THE MACHINE.....Justus Ebert	21
C. P. L. A. COVERS WIDE AREA.....	22
IN OTHER LANDS.....Patrick L. Quinlan	25
SAY IT WITH BOOKS—	
STRIKE PROHIBITION.....Arthur Garfield Hays	26
PEACE TIME PATRIOTS.....Gladys E. Meyerand	27
WHAT HAVE YOU? WHAT DO YOU WANT? HOW CAN YOU GET IT? .....	27
WORKERS STILL NEED UNIONS.....Israel Mufson	28
WHAT OUR READERS THINK.....	29

## IN THIS ISSUE

MARCH 10, 1930, promises to become an historic landmark in the advance of American labor. What the miners will do at Springfield, Ill., where the convention of the United Mine Workers of America will open on that morning, is not only of importance to the miners' union but of course to the whole Labor Movement. Will the new organization be dual, independent or part of the A. F. of L.? What chances of success are there in either one of these possibilities? What does this move mean to progressives everywhere? A. J. Muste in "The Crisis in the Miners' Union" analyzes the importance of this event and answers the questions noted above with a thoroughness and understanding of the issues involved that surpasses by far anything yet written about the Illinois situation.

HARRY ELMER BARNES, former Professor of History at Smith College and publicist, now associated with the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, takes a chapter out of his forthcoming book, "World Politics in Modern Civilization" and treats LABOR AGE readers to a review of the forces making for war and peace, armament and disarmament, for a better understanding of what may be expected out of the present naval conference in London. "Disarmament!" tells why past naval conferences failed, why the League of Nations is impotent to halt imperialistic expansions and the steps necessary for world peace.

EMPLOYERS are supposed to have promised President Hoover not to institute a wage cutting orgy during this period of depression. On the basis of that promise President Hoover got William Green's and other labor leaders' pledge to prevent labor unions from demanding wage increases. How employers fulfilled their end of the bargain is shown in "How Employers Kept Their Promise," a factual recital of wide-spread wage slashing.

FIFTEEN hundred taxicab drivers are battling for union recognition in Pittsburgh, where one man, an innocent bystander, has been killed. That the boys are putting up a fine battle is proved by the fact that the city government was forced to pull all the scab taxicabs off the streets. "Taxi Strike Stirs Pittsburgh Workers," relates the tale of this industrial conflict by one who has been right in the midst of things from the very start. William E. Chalmers, the author, is an instructor at the University of Pittsburgh, a champion of the C. P. L. A. spirit and was largely instrumental in bringing leadership and organized assistance to the embattled taximen.

A REVIEW of contemporary labor conditions and achievements, written in the vein of spirited news reports, always makes "Flashes From The Labor World" by Harvey O'Connor, Eastern Manager of Federated Press, interesting.

WHAT and where is this workers education? Brookwood held its usual mid-winter conference on this subject on February 22-23 and its findings are reported by Helen G. Norton, instructor in journalism at Brookwood Labor College in "Independent Workers Classes Flourish."

THE usual trenchant remarks on things pertinent by the Managing Editor, Louis Francis Budenz, makes it exceedingly worth while to "Follow The Fight."

THE monthly story of C. P. L. A. activities, this time embodying several unusual features not before included, is told in "C. P. L. A. Covers Wide Area."

THE March of the Machine" whose route is described by Justus Ebert, Editor of the Lithographers' Journal, continues to make noteworthy strides and is reported in this issue.

IN Other Lands," by Patrick L. Quinlan, reviews labor abroad.

SAY It With Books" includes a review entitled "Strike Prohibition" by Arthur Garfield Hays, lawyer and civil liberties champion, and "Peace Time Patriots" by Gladys E. Meyerand, of THE WORLD TOMORROW.

WHAT Our Readers Think," consisting of interesting letters, completes this issue.



# · LABOR · AGE ·

March, 1930

## EDITORIALS

LUDWELL DENNY in his brilliant book entitled "America Conquers Britain" which deals with the economic rivalry between these two countries, suggests that disarmament is good. Nations which have weapons fight. But, he continues, nations which are unprepared fight, too, as did the

United States in 1917. There will be war wherever the economic interests of dominant groups cause them to persuade the people that "the Unthinkable War is the Holy War."

This point of Mr. Denny's, emphasized as well by Prof. Barnes in this issue of *LABOR AGE*, should be remembered in seeking to evaluate what is going on at the Naval Conference in London. Disarmament conferences are in any case not of fundamental importance. A conference of big international bankers or a debate about tariffs or war debts may have a great deal more to do with provoking or postponing war than a so-called disarmament conference. At best, therefore, the London conference is nothing to get too excited about.

Just now it looks as though the London conference will not even accomplish what the mildly optimistic had ventured to hope. There will be, it appears, limitation but not actual reduction in armaments. Probably Great Britain and the United States will not build more big battleships, which are perhaps no use anyway in modern warfare. This will save the taxpayers money and that is to the good. But as to cruisers, submarines, destroyers, there will be additional building, the only clear gain being that each Power will know just what the other plans to do in the next few years, which may prevent the kind of mad naval race which develops when each nation begins to build in order to match what it suspects the other is going to do.

For the failure of the London conference to accomplish more the blame will be placed in this country upon some other nation. It may be well, therefore, to fasten two things in our minds. First, after this conference is over the United States will still be spending more money on war preparation than ever before in its history and more than any other nation. This although we are less likely to suffer attack than any other country. Second, we shall have "naval parity" with Great Britain. We shall have established the principle, that no other country on earth shall be permitted to have a bigger navy than ours! If we think this is preparing for peace, God help us when we wake up.

When we begin to deal realistically with economic conflicts and when not only Great Britain but France, Italy, Japan and the United States have Labor parties in power, we may be able to do something more about preventing war.

THE International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has taken another notable step in that process of rebuilding the organization which was begun last summer with the successful strike of the cloakmakers. During February 30,000 dressmakers in New York City walked out of the shops in response to the summons of the International. The victory came for the great majority of these workers after only a little more than a week of strike. The chief accomplishment of the strike is that the union control in the shops is definitely reestablished, and thus the standards formerly won as to wages, hours and working conditions will actually be enforced.

### Another I. L. G. Victory

This victory follows upon similar successes in other cities such as Cleveland and will doubtless be followed by further victories in other centers and in various miscellaneous branches of the trade. It represents the fruition of herculean efforts on the part of such men as President Schlesinger, Secretary-Treasurer Dubinsky and Vice Pres. Julius Hochman, who has been in charge of the dressmakers' branch of the trade in New York City.

There is one aspect of the situation following the dressmakers' strike which merits attention. During the immediate past the cloak and dressmakers of New York City have all been united under a single joint board, although previously these two major branches of the union had separate joint boards—one for the cloak makers and one for the dressmakers. At the Cleveland convention of the International last Fall, it was decided to go back to the system of separate joint boards as better serving the needs of the workers in these major branches of the trade, and this decision is now expected to be carried into effect.

In the old days the Dress and Waist Joint Board was a center for progressive activities. Young workers, many of them women, predominated in this section of the union. The workers educational activities, for example, for which the International gained fame throughout the Labor Movement in this country and in Europe as well, were inaugurated by these dress and waist workers. It may be that the Dressmakers' Joint Board will again become a center for progressivism, idealism and militancy in the International.

*LABOR AGE* again urges that such qualities as these must mark the policy of the International if it is to hold the allegiance of its membership and play a distinctive part in the American Labor Movement. Ever and again there are disturbing indications that this fact may be lost sight of. Thus, in the excellent guide for speakers issued by the Educational Department of the International for use in connection with the recent strike, are these words: "With the support of the American Federation of Labor the International has emancipated the workers from peonage



and slavery. It has set up an industrial democracy within the present system." No one naturally will quarrel with an expression of gratitude by the International for the service rendered to it by the A. F. of L. in recent years. But surely the International was built and the sweated garment workers of New York and other centers delivered from "peonage and slavery" by the Socialist movement of New York and of the United States, far more than by the A. F. of L. Does it mean something that in this guide for speakers there is not one syllable in reference to the Socialist Party or the Socialist movement and its ideals?

THE NEW YORK TIMES, which will not be suspected of being Bolshevik or deficient in loyalty to the country, recently made an interesting editorial comment on the violent attacks made in the United States

### The Right To Criticize

Senate by Senator Norris and others against the appointment of a well-known corporation lawyer, Charles Evans

Hughes, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Says THE TIMES: "Proceedings in the Senate during the past week have seemed to some excited observers full of dire portent. . . . Was ever anything so terrible heard of in this country? The answer is, Yes, and much more terrible. Decisions of the Supreme Court have from the beginning been subject to violent popular attack. Present-day complaints about the rulings of the court in regard to railroad rates and public utility charges, are like zephyrs compared with the hurricane that blew after the Dred Scott case. . . . Some hard things are said about the Supreme Court today but compare them with what the New York Tribune wrote about a certain decision by that court, namely, that it 'is entitled to just so much moral weight as would be the judgment of those congregated in any Washington bar room' . . . America takes no man on trust. It insists on looking him over and saying what it thinks about him."

This same right to criticize, and to criticize forcefully and insistently, used to prevail in the Labor Movement in general and in the unions in particular. In recent years, however, there has been a considerable change, and in many cases the lid is decidedly on. Criticism is interpreted as attack, and attack on an individual or a policy is interpreted as attack upon the union itself. We are tending in the direction of dictatorship. It is still regarded as the prerogative of American citizens to speak their minds out in public about their officials from the president down. But in many instances it is woe to the union member who smiles out of the wrong side of his face at his international president or business agent.

There is, of course, some reason for this condition in the destructive activities carried on in some unions in recent years. Every organization will tend to resort to dictatorship in time of extreme peril. It is dangerous, however, to let such conditions persist. Any organization where there is not real freedom of expression for those who are honest in their opinion and in their basic loyalty to the movement, will soon perish of dry rot.

AFTER the debacle at Washington, D. C., in April, 1929, when the last Workers Education Bureau Convention was held during

### Workers Education—Where and How?

which local unions, central labor bodies, state federations of labor and labor colleges and classes were practically deprived of representation and all power was given

to international unions, very little has been heard about the movement as officially covered by the American Fed-

eration of Labor. One New England Congress was held in Worcester, Mass., which was reviewed in these columns. A representative of the Bureau was sent to Elizabethtown, Tenn., to organize study classes but that effort couldn't stem the company unionizing of the Glantzstoff Mills. Whatever else has been accomplished by the Bureau in the year that is now coming to a close is unknown. Certain it is that of those few classes and colleges represented at the 1929 convention some have diminished in effectiveness while others gasped their last, long e'er this.

On the other hand, according to the findings of the conference on workers education held at Brookwood, February 22-23, and reported in this issue, most of the independent educational enterprises not only held their own but are growing in size and influence. The question then may be asked: Why do all these independent enterprises prosper while the official A. F. of L. educational movement is on the decline?

The answer can be found in the debates which took place at the 1929 convention of the W. E. B. Those who were opposed to "safe and sane" education *a la* the A. F. of L. official viewpoint prophesied this very outcome. Those who were opposed to complete control by International unions as against control by those who actually participated in classes and colleges warned against a diminution of interest.

The independent colleges and classes, having no particular fear of the ultimate end of knowledge, can draw to themselves those young men and women who would be interested in workers education in the first place. The official movement, by its opposition to free inquiry, has locked the door upon its own future, destroying whatever chances it had for survival when it took the W. E. B. under its wing in 1923.

AN EDITORIAL on organization work in the South in the INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS' JOURNAL for January is typical of a number of utterances on the subject

### Money Spent On Southern Organizing Work

issuing from official union sources. It states in brief that in the period of only four years from January 1, 1926 to December 31, 1929 the Molders' Union spent \$450,000 in the South, laments that there is not a great deal to show for all this effort, but lays the blame for this condition in the last analysis on the workers themselves. "For decades the message of organized labor has been carried to the industrial workers in the South. This message is still being borne to them—but *they alone can accept it*. If they refuse to receive it there is no way of compelling them to do so. Membership in a trade union is purely a voluntary matter."

Now to say that much money and energy have been spent in proclaiming the message of unionism but that the workers have not accepted it is not to answer the problem but simply to state it. After all, if the Labor Movement is to exist it must put its message across, and no intelligent unionist will rest satisfied without inquiring why it has failed to do so. It is precisely because time and money have been spent that this question becomes so urgent.

Is the small result due perhaps to the fact that the movement clings to the craft union structure instead of adopting an industrial unionist structure suited to the conditions of modern industry? Is it because organizers have in all too many instances been inefficient or corrupt, or possibly both? Is it because the Labor Movement itself is so imbued with the "big business psychology" that it fails to cultivate a labor point of view and hence to develop a labor loyalty in the workers? Is it because the



Labor Movement hesitates to engage in those large-scale evangelistic organizing campaigns through which alone it seems possible to rally workers against the concentrated economic and political power now opposing every effort on their part to organize? Is it because the American Labor Movement has not developed a political party of its own, and because it thus keeps workers disunited on the political field, that it finds it difficult to develop solidarity among them on the economic field?

Questions such as these must have an answer unless the present Southern campaign, on which again so much money and time and energy are being spent, is also to end in disappointment, or at least in inadequate results.

**P**ERHAPS it is like kicking a man when he is down to talk at this particular moment of the high wage theory upon which American industry was supposed to have been operating until the stock crash came and the present depression set in. Many workers would be very happy right now to have any sort of wage, high or low. Many more are facing the reaction of business stagnation by being forced to accept slashes in their weekly earnings of from 8 per cent to 35 per cent. But business will be better at some future time and we shall again be hearing of the super-high wages paid to our workers.

Books have been written on the new capitalism which has willingly and voluntarily offered the highest wages to its workers on the theory that high wages increase the consuming powers of the masses; an increase of such consuming power increases the demands for goods; an increase in the demands for goods stimulates production and therefore augments profits. While such a theory looks good and certainly would be valid in a society based on production for use, capitalism does not work exactly that way. The individual industrialist would rather garner his profits quickly and in the easiest fashion, paying as little for labor as he possibly can get away with. After all, when according to the best accounts, 17,000,000 of America's wage earners were receiving \$25 a week or less during the highest point of the great prosperity period, 1927, the high wages paid do not assume such dizzy flights. Where higher wages were paid the employers, either through pressure of labor organizations or through the need of getting the best equipped workmen, were forced to pay them.

This whole subject is inspired by an advertisement appearing in one of the morning papers pooh-poohing, as we are doing, the high wage theory of American industry. The advertisement is run by an advertising agency. Talking about the high wages paid in some automobile factories, the Ford plant we assume from the inferences, this advertisement goes on to point out the fallacy of the Ford high wage propaganda.

"The June bug in the ointment is that it has never been demonstrated because the proponents have never lived up to the philosophy by building everything which went into the product from the ground up and paying the high wage scale on all the parts thereof.

"These numerous component parts are 'farmed out' to outside manufacturers for the very practical reason that they can build them more cheaply—and one of the elements of saving, of course, is a wage scale considerably lower than the one so widely advertised."

In a footnote, the advertisement points out that "In a classic instance of so-called raw-product-high-wage massed manufacturing, almost two-thirds of the complete product are manufactured either wholly or in part by outside sources."

This honest analysis of the Ford high wage propaganda, which covers just as effectively all other high wage propaganda, should assure the American workmen that the good old American wage theory of paying labor only as much as the employers can get it for is still operating.

**I**T is difficult enough to obtain real information on the extent of the present unemployment situation. Everywhere people and organizations who should have, and in many instances who do have, exact knowledge of the distress caused by the industrial depression refuse to divulge the secrets they possess, thinking thereby to maintain a psychological optimism that will in the end cure the evils without more ado. Some of them may be honest fools who really believe that silence will cure unemployment. Others act in that manner because they fear it will hurt business. In either case the silence they maintain, instead of helping, hinders whatever remedy could be applied for alleviation or cure of the suffering of millions.

Of all agencies capable of throwing more light on the distress abroad in the land, charitable organizations should be the most eager to make their findings public. If they really exist in order to allay misery and suffering; if they are really devoted to the cause of humanity, giving of themselves unstintingly in the service of banishing pain and degradation, they would unhesitatingly throw open their fonts of information for analysis and as an aid to a final solution. They would not ally themselves with Chambers of Commerce and Big Business generally to keep whatever information they have from the public.

The act of one charity organization, at least, seems to show that in this particular instance it is more interested in perpetuating itself than curing the aches and pains of mankind. Instead of utilizing its knowledge for the relief of misery it shamelessly uses the information it possesses as a bludgeon by which to loosen the pockets of possible wealthy contributors.

The Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, after pointing out in a letter sent evidently to a list of people who may be moved to "come across" that the increase of families turning to it for assistance on account of unemployment had risen from 453 in January, 1929, to 850 in January, 1930, or 87.6 per cent, suggests two ways of raising the necessary funds to meet the demands upon it.

"We could write to a group of responsible, socially-minded persons and try to raise the necessary money privately—or we could give the facts out publicly and ask the press and pulpit, etc., to help us.

"The first course of action seemed to be preferable, if successful, for the second course might have a bad psychological effect on business."

By threatening business with the knowledge it possesses it is willing, if checks come in in sufficient quantity, to keep the rest of us in ignorance and permit the evil to continue regardless of the consequences.

May be a charity organization cannot be expected to be socially minded enough to worry about adequate measures to relieve all suffering as long as it can potter along with the few worst cases that come to its attention. But LABOR AGE is thankful for the opportunity to make the information The Charity Organization Society possesses public property because it realizes that nothing short of unemployment insurance adopted by society as a whole as its responsibility to those who are without income because of maladjustments of industry, will in any way take care of the situation.



# The Crisis In the Miners' Union

By A. J. MUSTE

**W**ITHOUT blast of trumpets, with very little definite warning, without a word of comment as we go to press from official American Federation of Labor circles, comes an event that may prove to be of the most profound importance to that organization and to the entire course of the Labor Movement in the United States. Backed by the miners of District 12, United Mine Workers of America, Illinois, a call has been issued by 22 prominent miners, most of them noted for their "progressivism," for a convention to be held in Springfield, Illinois, on March 10 "to establish an international organization of the United Mine Workers of America."

The call goes on to state that the further purpose of the forthcoming convention is "to adopt an international constitution of the United Mine Workers that will place the control of the organization in the hands of the rank and file by restoring home rule to the districts to elect international officials in accordance with the provisions of the constitution to be adopted, and to adopt ways and means to accomplish the complete reorganization of the U. M. W. of A. and "to unionize the unorganized coal fields and stabilize the coal industry."

What has led up to this momentous decision of the Illinois district and such miners' leaders as Alexander Howat, John Brophy, John H. Walker, Adolph Germer, to smash the Lewis regime and reorganize the United Mine Workers? Who are the people, what are the forces involved in the situation? What is likely to be the outcome?

## The Coal Industry

The bituminous coal industry in the United States suffers from the disease of "over development." The industry has always been a highly competitive one because it is a comparatively simple matter to open up a coal mine, and because there is a great demand for coal at certain seasons of the year, tempting operators to open up mines in order to take advantage of the high prices offered when de-

mand temporarily outruns supply. These mines then are wholly or partly idle when demand drops. For the miners this means, of course, that large numbers of them are brought to coal camps, settle down, acquire homes and certain habits of living and working not easily broken, and then by the thousands find themselves altogether out of work when mines close down, or on short time in such mines as remain open.

The war greatly stimulated the demand for coal for various reasons. John L. Lewis came into the presidency of the United Mine Workers of America in 1919 when the boom was still on. Even after the war boom was over new mines were opened up and machinery was introduced at a rapid rate, so that the mine capacity increased from 672,000,000 tons in 1914 to 796,500,000 in 1920, and again to 824,000,000 in 1925. Incidentally, the proportion of bituminous coal mined by undercutting machines advanced from 25 per cent of the total in 1900 to over 50 per cent in 1913, reaching 72 per cent in 1927. Since the amount of bituminous coal the country can consume is about 50,000,000 tons annually, the capacity is over 300,000,000 tons in excess of what the country can consume.

This situation must not be lost sight of by anyone who wishes to make a fair evaluation of men and policies in the miners' union during the past decade. It is a situation with which any new leadership the United Mine Workers may develop will have to reckon. It means that there were more miners than could profitably be employed, and that there was bound, under the best circumstances, to be unemployment on a considerable scale among them. Under such conditions it would have been difficult for anyone to hold the miners' union intact and no one could possibly have kept the membership up to its peak. To illustrate, even in Illinois where the mines are still practically 100 per cent organized, the membership is down to about 53,000 from a peak of something like 90,000.

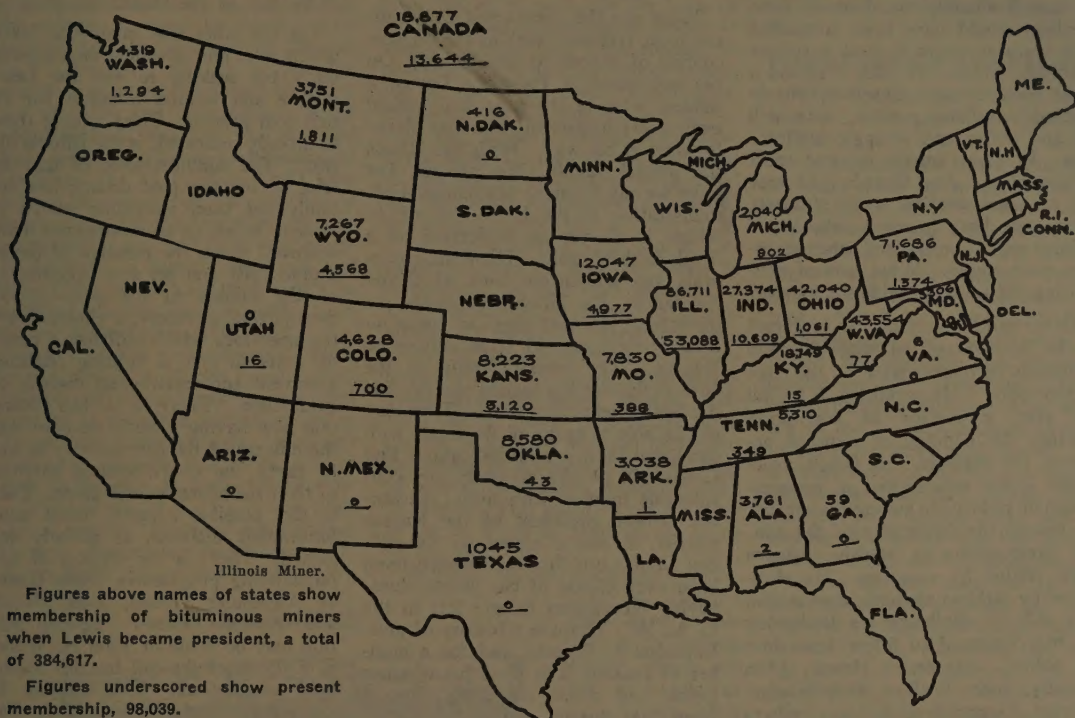
## The Lewis Policy

What policies were suitable to meet such a condition, and what did President Lewis do about them? In the first place, it seems obvious that something needed to be done to stabilize the industry, to prevent the constant opening up of new mines when the industry was already suffering from over development. Nationalization of the mines was proposed immediately after the war by a number of economists as a solution. The miners in convention assembled appointed a committee to study the subject and to prepare a report for study by the miners on the basis of which a definite program for the control of the industry might be adopted at a subsequent convention. The committee included such men as Chris Golden, at that time President of District 9, and John Brophy, at that time President of District 2. The committee prepared its preliminary report for circulation among the miners. Then Lewis sabotaged the work of the committee and prevented the miners' convention from dealing seriously and intelligently with the problem. It is quite conceivable, of course, that no measure for nationalization of mines could have been passed in this country. However, if the full force of the miners' union had been put back of an agitation for nationalization, it is possible that either the operators or the government or a combination of the two agencies would have taken some serious steps to stop expansion and to stabilize the industry. With the nationalization movement killed and no substitute plan offered, nothing needed to be done and nothing was done. Government and operators could hardly be expected to be wildly enthusiastic about a miners' union with 500,000 members, and the union might slowly and surely be bled to death in an industry suffering from chronic over-expansion and unemployment.

Moreover, the expansion during the war and the years following took place mainly in new districts, such as West Virginia, Kentucky and Alabama. There were excellent seams in those states. It was easier to introduce up



## THE WRECKING OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS



Figures above names of states show membership of bituminous miners when Lewis became president, a total of 384,617.

Figures underscored show present membership, 98,039.

to date machinery and methods in new mines. There was a supply of cheap labor in the hills and on the farms of the South to draw from, people with no union experience. The union, on the other hand, was strong, especially in the so-called Central Competitive Field, including Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania. In these states wages were high and conditions good. It seems obvious, again, that sound union strategy demanded an intensive effort to organize these non-union strongholds, since otherwise wages and conditions must inevitably come down in the union districts, if indeed the industry was not to be entirely crippled in the latter by the competition from the new and unorganized fields. How did the United Mine Workers under the Lewis leadership handle this problem?

It cannot be said that no effort to organize the non-union fields was made. Lewis can point, as can other A. F. of L. unions, to large sums of money spent in the South. Some terrific bloody battles for unionism were fought in the coal fields in these states. But in the first place there were some apparently inexcusable betrayals of non-union miners when they heeded the call of the organization and came

out on strike. Thus about seven years ago John Brophy and Powers Hapgood organized the non-union field in Southern Pennsylvania. By the thousands the men came out on strike in response to Lewis' summons, along with the previously organized miners of the county. Then the United Mine Workers made a settlement for the previously organized miners which left out the Somerset County men. Presently the International ceased to give strike relief to these men, who still fought valiantly on, although under the settlement union miners were at work in other sections, for the same coal companies against which they were still striking. District 2 itself was so far as possible discouraged by the henchmen of the International union from helping the strikers. A general cannot often leave soldiers in the lurch like that, whether with or without cause, and still retain any power to carry them with him into battle.

Secondly, far too large a percentage of the organizers sent into non-union fields were chair-warmers and errand boys for the International "machine," who perhaps were not expected to organize, and in any case did not.

Thirdly, when a couple of years ago the so-called Jacksonville agreement

expired, when the union had been completely driven out of the southern fields and when there was a big differential in wages between the union and the non-union fields, Lewis adopted the strategy of insisting that the wage level in the union fields must be maintained at any cost, even in mines where machinery had been introduced and miners could make more than the Jacksonville scale called for, even if piece rates were cut. The result was an utterly disastrous, prolonged strike which pretty nearly wiped out the union in Pennsylvania, Indiana and Ohio. The Illinois district saved itself only by making a separate agreement.

The upshot in brief is this: When Lewis became president of the organization, fully 70 per cent of the bituminous coal mined in the country was turned out by union men, less than 30 by non-union. Today the proportions are reversed.

### Killing The Soul of a Union

Lewis sabotaged the nationalization program for the stabilization of the industry and failed to provide a substitute. He made no adequate effort to organize the non-union fields. There is a third count in the indictment, pos-



sibly the most serious of all. Under the best leadership the United Mine Workers would have been compelled after the war boom to beat a retreat at certain points. In such a period a union needs a calm, unselfish, utterly devoted, idealistic general, who will toil and suffer and struggle with his men. In other words, its soul must be kept alive. And though it be true that an army marches on its stomach, there have been generals who could make it march on its soul when stomachs were empty. What sort of generalship did Lewis provide the miners?

He permitted his salary to be raised at the last convention while literally thousands of miners were on the edge of starvation. He permitted, if he did not abet, a regime of corruption through the padding of expense accounts, for example. He fought practically every expression of progressivism or radicalism among the miners. He caused the democracy of the miners' conventions to vanish; debates were settled by slugging. He eliminated by ruthless methods anyone who was able to challenge his leadership or who ventured to differ from him on policy. Alexander Howat, John Brophy, John Walker, Bob Harlan, Powers Hapgood and many others were attacked. Brophy charged that the election for the presidency was stolen from him by Lewis, and the issue was never seriously tried in convention. Lewis actually undertook to persecute Brookwood and was instrumental in inducing the American Federation of Labor to attack this labor college because some members of the United Mine Workers who had graduated from Brookwood had the audacity to work and vote for Brophy instead of Lewis in that election. International organizers were used to carry on "political" activities for the administration in organized self-governing districts, instead of promoting the union in non-union territory. Contrary to the constitution, the regularly elected officers of supposedly self-governing districts were replaced by provisional governments, composed of personal henchmen of the international president. It was the fact that Lewis attempted to do the same thing in the Illinois district recently that caused the movement to unseat him and to reorganize the U. M. W. on a democratic basis, to take definite form. The officers of the Illinois district went to court and secured an injunction forbidding Lewis to interfere with their administration of the district.

## The Forces in The Field

What are the forces and personalities to be reckoned with as the decisive conflict of March 10 approaches? On the one hand is President Lewis, a fighter, who in the past has walked over every opponent who has dared to stand in his way. With him stands his official family, the present (or must we say former) international administration of the U. M. W. of A. There is as yet no indication of a break in their ranks. Have these generals any supporters back of them? So far as the bituminous fields go, indications are that they can count on little, if any, support from Illinois or Kansas. The official family of the Illinois district has signed the call for the Springfield convention. They may not be able to carry all the locals with them, but there are no indications that Lewis will be able to carry any considerable number with him. Alexander Howat, president of the Kansas district, is also a signer of the call. But Illinois and Kansas between them have over 56,000 of the 98,000 dues-paying bituminous miners left in the U. M. W. There is a history of anti-Lewisism in Canada, and for a number of reasons it is doubtful whether Lewis can count on much support from that district, which has 13,644 members. Most competent observers question whether Lewis can count on much support from the 10,000 miners in the Mountain and Pacific Coast states.

So far the anthracite miners have not given any clear indication of revolt. Nor is it apparent that any strenuous effort is being made by the bituminous miners to induce them to do so. The anthracite districts may stand by the Lewis administration and thus he may have a union left in that branch of the industry. This would not necessarily weaken in any appreciable degree, however, the chances of success of the independent movement among the soft coal miners. In fact, it might in some measure strengthen it. The two branches of the industry do not work for the same markets. The history of the union has been one of bituminous helping the anthracite rather than vice-versa. The bituminous miners have always in normal times constituted the great majority of the membership. The contract of the anthracite districts expires at the end of August, and conceivably the bituminous miners might be better off if they did not have to add the renewal of that contract to their other worries. Besides, the anthracite miners have never had the check-off and

they are by no means as sure a source of income as the bituminous men.

On the other side stand the forces which have now assumed the responsibility for seeking to end the Lewis regime and rebuild a union for the soft coal miners. Chief among them, as already indicated, is the Illinois district. The administration of that district during the past decade has certainly not been altogether above reproach. When all allowances are made, however, it has the prestige of having a practically 100 per cent organization of the miners in the state—53,000 dues-paying members, a contract with the operators which still has a couple of years to run, a fighting tradition, a solvent and functioning district organization. There is a fair chance that now having given a decisive lead, the officers of the district may be able to carry the overwhelming majority of their membership with them. There is the possible support from other bituminous districts, as already suggested. There is the support of such outstanding progressive union leaders as Alexander Howat, John Brophy and Adolph Germer. Special mention may be made of John H. Walker as a signer of the call for the Springfield convention. That despite his presidency of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and his close relations in recent years with the official A. F. of L. family, Walker, who was at one time president of the Illinois district and a Socialist, has now allied himself with the anti-Lewis forces, is an event of considerable significance.

Reference may be made in passing to a figure whose signature is not attached to the convention call, namely, Frank Farrington, predecessor of Harry Fishwick as president of the Illinois district. Farrington was at one time a bitter enemy of Lewis but subsequently patched up a truce with him. It will be remembered also that a few years ago while president of the Illinois district, he signed a contract to become an employee of the great Peabody Coal Corporation. He went to Europe as president of District 12, expecting to resign and assume the position with the Peabody on his return. During his absence Lewis secured a letter written by Farrington which revealed the existence of his contract with the Peabody. It is said that Lewis tricked Farrington into making this contract, and that Farrington did practically no work for the Peabody interests during the three years which that contract ran. Certain it is that in recent months Farrington has been among the foremost



of those attacking Lewis and has given great impetus by his writings to the campaign waged by the ILLINOIS MINER, the official organ of District 12. Obviously, this is a complex situation, some of the phases of which are probably still unrevealed. Many observers hold, however, that it would have led to confusion and misunderstanding if Farrington had been among the signers of the call, that it might have divided forces in the Illinois district, and that if he is genuinely desirous of serving the rank and file of the miners, an opportunity to demonstrate that may possibly come during some future time.

What of the Communists? Their recent strike in Illinois was a total failure. It is not apparent that they need to be reckoned with seriously in the miners situation today, whatever may have been the case in the past or may be the case at some future date.

What of the A. F. of L.? For them this situation is pregnant with serious, if not disastrous, possibilities. If Lewis fights the present move and de-

clares its promoters and following outlaws, the A. F. of L. on the basis of its traditional policy seems bound to support Lewis, and that means the possibility of a miners' union outside the A. F. of L. fold. Presumably, interested parties are conferring behind the scenes. There are indications, however, that all the A. F. of L. can do for the present is to stand by and watch developments. When the Illinois district wired to the A. F. of L. convention at Toronto in October an offer to open its books to competent certified accountants if Lewis would do the same, the Illinois officers to resign if corruption were proved by the examination, and Lewis to do the same, the communication was quietly and very firmly ignored. Efforts which have presumably been exerted to prevent an open break and the calling of a convention in defiance of Lewis, have quite obviously come to naught. This situation can do more to the A. F. of L. than the A. F. of L. can do to it.

What of the coal operators, particu-

larly in Illinois? They have a contract in the Illinois district which still has a couple of years to run. They are no better and no worse probably than coal operators generally and might break a contract, which would doubtless cause much embarrassment to the Illinois district. The chances appear to be that this will not occur. It is possible that by this time a good many coal operators have come to the same conclusion that certain leaders of the Ladies' Garment industry reached not long ago, namely, that it is better to have a union and a stable industry than no union and anarchy. In any event the Illinois miners have a long tradition of militant unionism, and the operators probably shrewdly calculate that if they

attempted to abolish the union, the result would probably be hell and not peace.

### Possibilities for The Future

What are the possibilities for the future? They appear to shape up as follows:

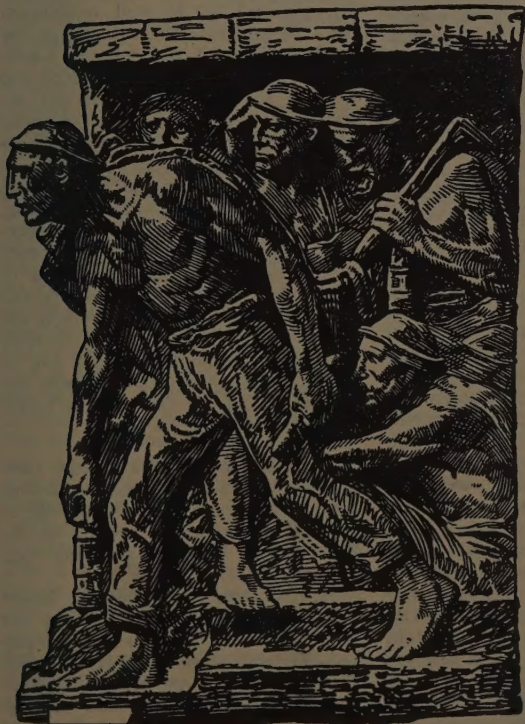
1. The officials of the Illinois district may patch up an agreement with Lewis before the final break comes. This sounds weird after all they have said about Lewis in the ILLINOIS MINER in recent weeks. Stranger things than this have happened, however. Yet it is unlikely. It is improbable that the progressives who signed the call for the Springfield convention did so without obtaining some guarantee that they were not going in for a sham battle or being led to slaughter in a tragic farce. What is much more to the point, it is highly improbable that the Illinois district officials could control their own rank and file if after all that has been said and done, they made a weak peace.

2. Lewis may take the anthracite and leave the insurgents the job of organizing the bituminous industry, the A. F. of L. chartering two unions for the coal industry—one to have jurisdiction in the anthracite and the other in the bituminous fields. The chances of this happening are likewise not very good. It would be unlike Lewis to give ground in this way; and it is hard to see how he could have any assurance of being able to retain his control in the anthracite once he is compelled to relinquish the larger part of the industry.

3. Lewis may, with some face-saving gestures, practically admit defeat. If some fairly important position were available for him in the Labor Movement, in business or in politics, this might happen. The difficulty in the way of this solution is that if he is virtually forced to retire from the miners' union, he is in large measure a discredited man, and the chances of an important position being open under the circumstances seem slight.

4. Lewis may fight back, the A. F. of L. may back him up, and he may succeed in defeating the insurgents and retaining his hold on the U. M. W. This would also involve his taking control of the Illinois district. It is difficult to conceive of this happening after what has already transpired, without a knock-down and drag-out fight in Illinois, which would wreck that district. There is not much in past experience to encourage the hope that Lewis might lead in an effective

### COAL DIGGERS



From a drawing by Harold Nelson after Meunier  
Miners' eyes are turned toward the Springfield convention, looking for the light to lead them out of their present deplorable state.



organization of the non-union fields, particularly if now the Illinois district is also wiped out. In other words, this would probably mean the wiping out of the union in the bituminous coal industry altogether, paving the way for company unionism in that basic industry also.

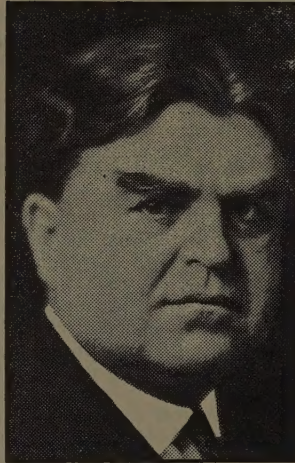
5. The outcome may be in the nature of a draw. For example, the insurgents may succeed in ousting Lewis only after a long continued battle and before the fight is over the Illinois district may be seriously weakened or wrecked, and the insurgents may find the job of organizing the non-union fields impossible under the conditions. In this case also the miners' union will eventually be wiped out and the way prepared for company unionism in the industry.

6. The outcome may be clear victory for the insurgents, with Lewis put out, the Illinois district left intact, and a vigorous organization set up to carry the campaign into non-union territory.

If the insurgents achieve their aim, either because Lewis eliminates himself, or because they defeat him, then there is an excellent chance that a progressive, fighting, democratic, clean, intelligent industrial union may emerge in this great basic industry. As has already been suggested, the industry has gotten to the point where it may have to have a union to stabilize it. Intelligent leadership could avail itself of that advantage. In any case, however, the task of rallying the miners to unionism in West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, etc., is a stupendous one. A union which undertakes it must have a fighting soul. It must be able to command the services of its idealistic spirits, and it must be able to enlist the confidence of the rank and file. Only a clean, progressive union can do that. Circumstances will compel the reorganized union to be that kind of a union, at least for some time to come.

Should this kind of a miners' union come into existence, the chances are immensely increased that an organizing movement in certain other basic industries such as automobiles, steel, textiles, etc., would get under way. These unions would undoubtedly be unable to achieve their ends under a policy of non-partisan political action, and would strive to join with others in launching a labor party. They would need a progressive workers education movement and would undertake to promote it. The C. P. L. A. program would have become the program of a mass movement.

## FIGHTS TO HOLD POWER



JOHN L. LEWIS

If the reorganization of the miners' union comes as a result of Lewis peacefully eliminating himself so that the A. F. of L. will not be confronted with the necessity of ruling on a question of "dual unionism," then unquestionably the reorganized miners' union will be within the A. F. of L. and may contribute to the reinvigoration and transformation of that organization.

### Problem for A. F. of L.

If the reorganization of the miners' union comes as a result of a break away from and victory over Lewis, with Lewis declaring the insurgents outlaws, the A. F. of L., as has already been suggested, will almost certainly line up with Lewis. It is by no means certain that this would be a fatal handicap to the movement. "Dual unionism" in the sense of a movement which is built upon a theory or ism, and which seeks to break down existing unions, has not had much success in the United States. But "independent unions" which were not built primarily on a theory or ism and did not seek to destroy existing unions but simply undertook to meet the need for organization on the part of a group of workers who had been betrayed or were not being effectively served by an A. F. of L. union, have survived and flourished in the United States.

For the A. F. of L. such a development might have most serious consequences. Suppose that to the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and some smaller independent organizations, a big

miners' union were added, and to these presently unions in some of the other basic industries. If the A. F. of L. proceeded to bar them from affiliation, it seems certain that they would be forced to federate among themselves for certain purposes. Could the A. F. of L. retain its present affiliations intact in such a case? In fact, some important decisions involving these issues may have to be taken very soon. Suppose the reorganized union gets under way and is barred from the A. F. of L. at the insistence of the present U. M. W. officialdom, what is to become of the Illinois Federation of Labor, with the Illinois district of the miners constituting perhaps one-half or more of its strength, and with the president of that federation, John H. Walker, among the promoters of the "dual" union? What position is the Chicago Federation of Labor going to take in the face of such a development?

Whatever be the outcome of the convention, which opens at noon of March 10 in Springfield, Illinois, it will make history for weal or woe for the American Labor Movement. It is well in any case that the Illinois district decided not to stall or temporize. To postpone the decision of the issues between it and John L. Lewis would have meant only confusion and distress for the miners. It has assumed grave responsibilities for which history and the workers of America will hold it accountable. A union in which the rank and file can believe, an honest, clean, democratic, fighting, progressive union for miners is desperately needed. The men and women who fought and died in the past to build the United Mine Workers call for it. The men who now work in the mines for starvation wages or walk the streets without jobs call for it. May the courage, the intelligence, the honesty to answer that call be forthcoming.

Since this article was written John L. Lewis and his Executive Board, issued their own convention call to convene at Indianapolis, Ind., on the same day as that of the Illinois convention, March 10.

At the same time John L. Lewis called upon President Green to ask John H. Walker, President of the Illinois Federation of Labor, and one of the signatories of the Illinois Convention Call, either to withdraw his signature, or failing that, for President Green to revoke the charter of the Illinois Federation of Labor. This brings a new development into this complex situation.



# How Employers Kept Their Promise

**T**HAT the criticism levelled by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action against the agreement made between President Hoover and labor officials not to seek increases in wages on Hoover's pledge that the employers would not cause any wage reductions was justified is borne out by subsequent events. Although labor, by this agreement, tied its hands with relation to any effective move towards its advance, the pledge of the employers was violated almost as soon as it was made. Wage reductions have been forced upon already pitifully low paid workers in scores of instances. Edward F. McGrady, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, speaking before the Furrier's Convention in January, stated that "forty-nine industries in this country have broken their agreements with the President of the United States. . . ." Since then many more employers followed the wage slashing tendency and thus far not a peep has emanated from the White House to halt this onslaught on the workers' earnings.

To present to LABOR AGE readers specific instances of the broken pledges of the employers a few of the violations are recorded below. By speed up and other means many wage cuts were instituted in fact which cannot be dug up for public information.

Probably the most brazen violation of the agreement occurred in Danville, Va., when the Dan River Cotton Mills on February 1, announced a wage reduction of 10 per cent to its 6,000 operatives who were earning an average of \$18 weekly. At the same time that this announcement was issued to the workers another statement, addressed to the stockholders, showed that full dividends of 6 per cent were paid on the preferred stock in 1929 and 10 per cent went to holders of common stock.

The Chalton Mill in Fall River announced a wage cut of 38 per cent. The New Bedford Cotton Mill owners reduced earnings all around. The Delgad Cotton Mill of Wilmington, Delaware, introduced two additional looms for each worker to handle while reducing the piece rate from \$4 to \$3.15 a million picks.

The hosiery branch of the industry is a no greater respecter of pledges, even when made to the President of the United States, than is the textile industry in general. The Aberle Ho-

siery Mills of Philadelphia announced a wage slash of from 12 to 33 per cent to its 1,400 employees. The mill is now tied up in an effort of the workers to make their bosses keep their pledges. The Kayser Mill of Brooklyn cut the wages of its help by between 12 and 15 per cent. The Globe Knitting Works of Grand Rapids, Mich., sliced the pay envelopes of its employees 8 per cent.

Throughout industry in general wage cutting is the order of the day and in many instances, where there is any fighting spirit among the workers, their resentment is shown by industrial stoppages. The Pittsburgh taxicab drivers are now battling for a restoration of their previous earnings and recognition of the union as a result of a wage cut instituted when all the local taxicab companies merged into one. The Lynn Shoe Manufacturers' Association proposes a 20 per cent reduction in the pay of its operatives. Two hundred Lake Stages bus drivers have struck in Cleveland in protest of a pay cut of one cent a mile. They were getting from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 cents a mile. The new rates call for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 cents. The Barrymore-Wilton Rug Co. of Philadelphia reduced its wages 15 per cent.

The general wage cuts announced by the airplane companies helped in the general downward trend. Air pilots and mechanics had their mileage rates reduced in all the leading airports of the country.

## State Follows Example

But the palm for wage cutting goes to the State High Commission of Montana. Evidently heedless of the Hoover stabilization plans or careless of the responsibilities attached to government agencies as employers, this Commission announced a reduction of wages to all of its workers functioning under its jurisdiction. On January 14 Peter Connors, delegate of the Butte Teamsters' Local, read a letter from the Commission before the Butte Central Labor body, in which a cut in wages was announced effective February 21. James Comba, of the Butte Engineers' Union stated that this new wage scale would cut the wages of engineers \$1.75 a day.

Direct wage cutting is only one way of making a scrap of paper out of the employers' pledge to Hoover not to reduce wages. Indirectly there are numerous instances of wage reduc-

tions. Edward F. McGrady, in the speech quoted at the outset of this story, said also: "Within one hour the agreement was broken. In less than one hour after these industrialists gave that promise to go through with this program Henry Ford came out and captured the headlines of the papers of the world by saying that this was the time to increase wages and that he was going to do it." But three weeks later Henry Ford discharged fifty per cent of his workers.

On the other hand, McGrady points out, though negotiations for wage increases to navy yard workers had been going on for three months before the Hoover pledge, Charles Adams, Secretary of the Navy, used this pledge as an excuse to prevent these negotiations from culminating into actual results. The workers have not received these increases yet though President Hoover stated that Adams' stand was a violation of the agreement.

Another trick used by employers to nullify their pledge is to fire old workers who receive top wages and hire new ones at lower wages. Mr. Ford is guilty of that practice also. Other employers are working this trick to perfection. In the Milwaukee machine shops new men are being hired at wages ranging from 32 to 42 cents an hour according to the machinists' business agent, Jack Friedrich. The wages of those who held the same jobs formerly were much higher.

The Wright Aeronautical Corporation of Paterson, N. J. laid off its entire force of 1,600 men who were getting fifty cents an hour. When the mill started operating again it replaced the men by women who are receiving \$14 for their week's work.

This is the sordid tale of broken pledges that strew the path of American prosperity *a la* Hoover efficiency. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action at the very outset stressed the fact that there was no power on earth to prevent the employers from reducing the earnings of workers if they saw fit, except the power of the workers themselves. Those labor leaders, with President Green at the head, who so quickly trusted the word of employers and the esteem of the office of President of the United States to keep that pledge secure, can now repent at leisure while the wage-slashed and starving workers are howling at the house of prosperity which has fallen all around their ears.



# Taxi Strike Stirs Pittsburgh Workers

## C. P. L. A.'ers Help in Brave Fight

By WILLIAM E. CHALMERS

Since Mr. Chalmers sent this article on the Pittsburgh taxicab strike, several things have happened to throw added light on the situation. The Railway Audit and Inspection Bureau, which supplied the Parmelee Transportation Co. with its scabs was ordered to discontinue its strike-breaking activities because upon investigation it was found that the Bureau's agents had been at the bottom of all violence against the homes of strikers and sympathizers, raids on strike relief kitchens and assaults on strikers.

A nervous policeman, aiming at a striker, shot and killed William Dreibold, a strike sympathizer.

After the fatal shooting Mayor Kline ordered all scab taxis off the streets because the police admitted that they could not restrain an indignant public from using force to halt strike-breaking taxis.

FIFTEEN hundred taxi-drivers have stood solidly for four weeks in a strike with the Parmelee Company's operations in Pittsburgh. Starting with a spontaneous walkout, they immediately joined the Teamsters' Union. Although they have received almost no support from the union, they are holding firm. And this in the face of such small earnings that within a week and a half after the strike had started, a soup kitchen had to be organized to feed some of them and money relief handed out to families. There are now over a hundred and fifty fed each day and over two hundred whose families are dependent on the small funds the union has been able to raise.

Such spirit and determination comes as a result of ten years of gradually but steadily poorer conditions imposed on the men. It was ten years ago that the last effort, an unsuccessful one, was made to improve the working conditions. It was almost inevitable that another effort would be made as conditions became worse. A few months ago the Parmelee, a national organization affiliated with General Motors Corporation, came into Pittsburgh and bought out the local concerns. The men watched to see whether the change would mark a more enlightened policy on the part of the management. The first move of the company, however, was a wage change which for many of the drivers was a cut. This was the last straw.

The strike probably came from the planning of a small group. This group told some hundred drivers to meet at a certain point the following day and

talk over what should be done. The men were ready for action—and a few hours later not a cab was on the streets—every driver was on strike.

The drivers did not even know of the union in their field. They were advised by a member of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action to connect with the union. This representative then arranged a mass meeting for that night for the whole group. Over a thousand drivers attended. They were without effective leadership. The union failed to provide any real leaders, despite the fact the drivers had already indicated their desire to organize and join the union. Amidst a good deal of disorder, a committee of twelve was chosen, which has ever since acted as a steering committee of the strike. The crowd heartily agreed to join the union, and suggested its principle demands. The committee later formulated them into (1) union recognition, (2) a stipulated slight wage increase and (3) no discrimination. On these the men still stand. The informally designated chairman continues to act as leader of the newly-formed group.

The strike has continued. After eight days the company secured a sweeping injunction prohibiting all picketing around all property and stands of the company, and the calling of "scabs" to the strike-breakers. With what appeared to be very poor legal advice the union agreed to this injunction, so it was made permanent without a fight. Under protection of this the company imported thugs and gunmen from Chicago, New Orleans, Philadelphia and New York and at-

tempted to run the cabs. The police, following the orders of the local political machine, had been friendly for a week, then turned coat and have arrested many strikers but only a few of the scabs that should have been arrested. The sheriff of the county responded for the company and indicated his willingness to swear in as many deputies as the company wanted. This indicates an evil practically as important as the coal and iron police for which Pennsylvania is justly famous. These deputy sheriffs are at best disreputable characters. They are under the direct control and supervision of the company, yet have the authority of the sheriff. They are virtually strike-breakers with state police commissions.

The company has been operating cabs on the streets for some time but has secured practically no business. The public will not ride the cabs, partly through fear of some well-aimed bricks, and partly through sympathy. Only the out-of-towners, coming into the stations where they are not informed of the conditions are taxi customers.

Relief has become more and more important. With the help of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the Socialists, a relief kitchen was set up and money began to come in from local unions and other sources to help the men carry on. A Catholic priest, Father Cox, has been especially helpful to the strikers, both in their meetings and in raising money.

The company has been spending a lot of money in a desperate effort to defeat the men. It has imported about three hundred scabs (paying them ten dollars a day, all receipts and food and lodging) and more than that many deputies for a slightly smaller sum. It is believed that it has spent a good deal on the city administration. It has also offered, and in some cases paid, large sums to workers. One man was offered five hundred dollars to leave the city, though he was not a member of the committee, and five thousand to "get to" some of the committee members.

The Teamsters lent its local business agent but did not furnish effective leadership. It brought in the acting President of the State Federation



## SCARED STIFF



International Newsreel Photo.  
Scab taxi drivers donned steel helmets in attempt to escape wrath of Pittsburgh citizens.

of Labor for this area, Thomas Robertson. Along with one striker, he sat in on a conference arranged by Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis. The result, which Davis endorsed, was a suggested agreement in which the men lost practically everything for which they struck—especially union recognition. Though Davis endorsed this suggestion and Robertson attempted to get the drivers to take it, after they had had time to think it out for themselves, they refused. It resulted, however, in a confused situation which the company (unfairly) claimed was bad faith on the part of the strikers. As a matter of fact, the bad faith was that of the company for even the suggested agreement did not give them the right to start operating cabs immediately with strike-breakers as they did. Since that time, despite the fact that an international organizer of the Teamsters Union spent some time in the city, the union has contributed very little to the situation. The men have carried the strike almost alone.

The organized Labor Movement has also not acquitted itself as well as it might. Some of the local unions have given generously. Many of the others have not supported them, however. The Central Labor Union waited until a formal application was made to it. It has finally issued a formal request for relief.

The strike indicates a number of important lessons for the progressives of the Labor Movement in Pittsburgh. In the first place, it shows the relative inertia of the majority of the leaders of the local movement. Though it was known that there was considerable discontent among the drivers, no attempt was made to organize them. When the strike came spontaneously, it was necessary for someone not connected with the organization to go over to the men and arrange to have them meet and join the union. The Central Labor Union and its leaders did not take any immediate action. When appealed to by the strikers' committee they did endorse the strike, sent out an appeal for funds and provided speakers for strikers' meetings. Notice the emphasis on waiting for the men to come to them, despite their knowledge that the strike was one for union recognition, and despite their knowledge that its victory or defeat will have a powerful effect on the unorganized workers of Pittsburgh.

In the second place, one must notice the response of locals. The rank and file have thus indicated their understanding of the significance of the strike. The leadership, then, did not really represent the organizations.

In the third place, the strike incidents indicate the difficulty that faces any group that goes on strike spontaneously. This group was unable to pick an outstanding leader who could combine the confidence of the men and executive leadership in the strike. They had even more diffi-

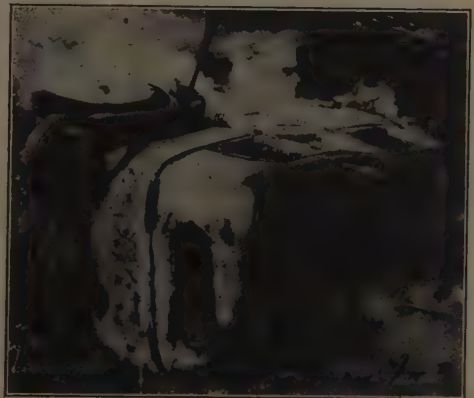
culty in choosing a representative committee that could be trusted. The one chosen contains several that have no executive or leadership ability. It also contains, it is certain, at least three that have received bribes from the company. This emphasizes anew the need of unionism *before* a strike. Had the group been worked on by a good organizer first, the leadership would have been there. Failing that, present organizations can be of immense service by providing trustworthy, strong and intelligent leadership.

In the fourth place, the group did not correctly handle the injunction issue. A statement by the progressives, quoted in the daily papers, suggests that the injunction is an absolutely unwarranted assistance by the courts of the employer. It is an instrument of class justice. A vigorous attack upon the injunction would have driven home the lesson to the public, added to public sympathy, and might have modified its drastic terms.

In the fifth place, publicity is an important part of a strike, but one which does not develop spontaneously. These strikers have been content to rely on the inherent justice of their cause. For a public under the pressure of daily statements by the company, that is not enough.

Finally, it is important to notice the determination of their fight. These are the men classed as "unskilled." They have been out a month and many are on the border of destitution. Few of them have been able to find any other temporary work. Yet their ranks are practically solid.

## CAB AFIRE



International Newsreel Photo.  
One of eight Parmelee taxicabs burned up by incensed workers when police shot a strike sympathizer.



# Flashes from the Labor World

Reporting labor news on this continent is getting to be an exciting job. The spotlight swings dizzily from New York dressmaking shops to the sun-baked Imperial Valley of California, to hunger-threatened strikers in Marion, to battling taxi strikers in Pittsburgh, to girls in jail for singing America in Nazareth, Pa., to fossilized state senators in Mississippi denouncing the A. F. of L. as un-American and back to the Empire State's capital where an old age pension law is about to be enacted.

If any state gets the spotlight more than others as this last year of the third decade of the twentieth century gets under way, it is the grand old Keystone State, home of Grundy, Mellon, Vare, coal and iron police, state cossacks and sedition laws, where radical workers go to the pen and corruptionists to the U. S. Senate. Highly appropriate is its tribute, wrung from the American Civil Liberties Union, as the most anti-union state in the country. Considering North Carolina's and California's claims, Pennsylvania's record must be pretty bad to entitle it to the palm from such an expert in workers' oppression as the Civil Liberties Union.

Violations of civil rights, declares the newly formed Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Committee, are "more numerous in Pennsylvania than in any other state in the Union. There are more prosecutions under the sedition law, more arrests for strike activities, more violence by state and private police and more meetings broken up than in any other state in the union. This condition has been true for 10 years." The committee is starting a general drive against the private industrial police, the sedition law and the abuse of power by sheriffs in strikes.

\* \* \*

Everywhere in that state save in the unionized anthracite region the courts and police take an active interest in helping employers break strikes. It matters not that some of these strikes are sponsored by the highly responsible Hosiery Workers Federation, an A. F. of L. organization; indeed this union has met more fierce opposition in the Keystone State than any other labor organization. In Philadelphia Judge McDevitt practically outlaws picketing and threatens indefinite jail sentences against strikers who stand on their rights (whatever they may be). In Nazareth girls singing America go to jail because they chant it in front of a yellow dog hosiery mill. That's no place to sing about the

land of the free, rules the local constable. Perhaps he's right.

\* \* \*

In Pittsburgh, where the crown of spikes is forced upon open shopped workers, murder and violence in a hundred guises follow the importation of sweet crews of taxi strikebreakers, gathered in the slums of Philadelphia and New Orleans by Railway Audit & Inspection Bureau. Strikers, deserted by their

## THE HUNGER BELL



De Notenkraker (Amsterdam)  
"Prosperous" America cannot escape its toll.

international union after they reject an offensive strike settlement, battle on with the support of the man with the dinner pail. The heart of labor must be sounder among the men who tramp Pittsburgh's streets than in the ranks of their god-given leaders, for local unions vote hundreds of dollars for the strikers, who in turn create an efficient commissary service and show that it is possible to run a strike even if it does not have the imprimatur of the Teamsters International.

\* \* \*

International officials of the United Mine Workers roam through the anthracite, seeking to save their last per capita paying province. Long before the hard coal diggers knew anything about it, International President John L. Lewis told them he had succeeded in averting a strike September 1 when the contract expired. What has been done about wages, which have remained constant since 1925 despite general advances elsewhere, he reveals not to the men who pay his \$12,000 a year salary. The anthracite will bear all of John L. Lewis'

watching; now that Illinois has blown up, it would be highly unfortunate for the \$12,000 a year executive if the hard coal diggers decide they can fend for themselves without his highly expensive services.

\* \* \*

Pres. Green has completed another swing through the South, speaking to many state legislatures and addressing unionists in leading cities along the rim of the section from Greensboro to New Orleans. His tour has made definite gains in obtaining favorable publicity, in banishing fears in editorial sanctums of the A. F. of L. as radical, in impressing industrial leaders with the Federation's saneness. It has also been a boon to organized trade unionists, placing upon them the seal of respectability. No immediate gains have been reported for the unorganized workers in cotton mills, coal mines, steel mills and tobacco factories. This, in the nature of things, will have to wait until the effect of his appearances soaks in on the Southern consciousness. Undoubtedly there are liberalizing influences astr in the South, the result perhaps as much of fear of the Communists as of admiration for Green. In North Carolina 400 leading citizens have just asked for civil liberties for workers, recognition of unions and abolition of night work and of child labor. South Carolina is likely to pass a workmen's compensation act and even Mississippi, still living in the days of the Great Rebellion, rescinds a previous vote in the state senate and reluctantly asks Green to speak in the state capitol. Great things are due in the South.

\* \* \*

If the A. F. of L. is as weak as Matthew Woll told leading Socialists it is, the outlook is none too good for Southern workers, or any other for that matter. The National Civic Federation chief explained to them the inner structure and philosophy of the A. F. of L., and it all simmered down to this—the A. F. of L. has no power over its international unions and therefore no responsibility for them. Unions like the glass workers, the steel workers, the cigar workers, the mine workers, can commit suicide of their own free will and the A. F. of L. cannot raise a finger. Rotten leadership, bad tactics, ancient ideas can strangle powerful internationals but the rest of the union movement is helpless before the tragedy. All territory is staked out by the jealous crafts, and if workers in great industries, such as steel, coal or



# FRESH NEWS FROM MANY FRONTS

will be presented at the  
**Eastern Regional Conference**  
 of the C. P. L. A.

**Sunday, March 16, 1930**

Two sessions: 10 A. M.—2 P. M.  
 at the

**LABOR TEMPLE,**  
 14th Street and Second Avenue, New York City

C. P. L. A. branches which have not yet elected their delegates are urged to do so at once. Mail credentials to ISRAEL MUFSON, Executive Secretary, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

**C. P. L. A. Members and Others Interested Are Invited to Attend.**

## SPEAKERS:

**WILLIAM E. CHALMERS** will report the result of his investigation of big steel centers in Pennsylvania and New York.

**WILLIAM ROSS** coming from Marion will present the latest information on the A. F. of L. in the South.

**LOUIS F. BUDENZ** on lessons from recent organizing campaigns.

**A. J. MUSTE** and **TOM TIPPETT** with reports on the momentous Miners' Conventions at Springfield, Ill., which they will attend.

**JOHN C. KENNEDY** on the movement in the West.

autos, for example, are not blessed with intelligent, courageous internationals, they are condemned to open shoppery. No one else may tread the precincts of steel without being condemned as a dual unionist; an auto unionist violates sacred canons of 21—or is it 23—separate internationals. If "voluntarism"—more plainly, chaos—is the A. F. of L.'s philosophy, it had better change it mighty quick or go down to perdition. Big business deserted voluntarism a generation ago; those in labor ranks who urge this semi-anarchism need to have their heads or hearts examined.

\* \* \*

Carl Holderman, organizer for the Hosiery Workers Union in New York and New Jersey, recommends Ontario as a tonic for tired labor organizers. The climate is nothing to brag about but

solidarity keeps the labor thermometer up in the coldest weather and craft lines don't keep plumbers and bricklayers from helping unorganized workers of another craft to build a union. Holderman got a hurry-up call to help unionless hosiery knitters in Hamilton, threatened with a yellow dog contract. Although he took the first train across the line, he found no straggling lines of strikers, leaderless and discouraged. Instead the business agents of other crafts had jumped in, organized a strike committee, protested to the Dominion government against the yellow dog and explained to the strikers the best ways to win a battle with the boss. Labor Minister Heenan, a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, told the Mercury mill that yellow dogs don't go in Canada, which believes in the right

of workers to organize in unions of their own choice. Confronted by well organized employees backed by the Hamilton labor movement and the Hosiery Workers Federation, the Mercury mill slid its tail through its legs and decided to treat with a strike committee. The good news swept through other Dominion hosiery mills and now Holderman expects to have them all lined up—including Allen A and Real Silk Canadian plants. Workers in both these shops have organized. Minus yellow dog protection in the courts, these two outfits will have to sign up or face a workers' revolt, Holderman predicts. All in all, he says, Ontario is better than Florida for putting vim and vigor into an organizer dismayed at times by the tough fight unions have to make in free America to get anywhere. HARVEY O'CONNOR.

## CHAMPIONS OF FREEDOM!



F. P. Photo

These dashing Pirates, all members of Washington Branch, No. 20, American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, are basketball champions of northwestern New Jersey. After mopping up every team in their part of the state, they are now playing benefit games to help hosiery unionists on strike in Paterson, N. J., and Nazareth, Pa.





International Newsreel Photo.

Nothing has done more to align the yellow race against the white than the economic exploitation of China by European countries and the United States.

**A**MONG the most potent causes of war are the economic. The Industrial Revolution produced an enormous increase in commodities available for sale. The old local and home markets proved inadequate for this increasing flood of goods. It was deemed necessary to find new markets overseas. In part these markets might be discovered among highly developed peoples in distant lands, but for the most part the industrial countries endeavored to develop or exploit colonies as potential customers for goods manufactured in the mother country. This led to what has been called modern economic imperialism or the struggle for markets, raw materials, and investment areas overseas. Probably the most dynamic incentive to imperialism, particularly in the last generation, has been the struggle for control over the sources of raw materials. The zeal exhibited today in the effort to get command of the oil and rubber supply is but the most conspicuous contemporary manifestation of this tendency. As a result, most of the areas which were not already under the dominion of independent modern states in 1870 have been parceled out among the British, French, Russians, and Americans. And this scramble for overseas territory was one of the most potent causes of international disputes in the fifty years before 1914.

Not only has there been a struggle for overseas possessions to secure markets and raw materials; the In-

dustrial Revolution in due time produced an enormous supply of surplus capital that sought investment in overseas dominions. This in itself was legitimate enough. But the investors sought special protection and unique rights independent of the laws and customs of the country in which the investments were made. Extra territorial rights were demanded which made the investors free from the laws and courts of the exploited country. Each state, in administering its laws, was, naturally, biased in favor of its own nationals. In many cases, when the exploited state was weak enough in a political or military sense to allow such oppression, foreign investors have induced their home governments to impose severe economic handicaps upon the country undergoing economic penetration. A notorious representative example of such procedure was the limitation of the customs duties which may be imposed by the Chinese government. Chinese merchants shipping goods to foreign countries were compelled to pay the extortionately high customs duties imposed, while the Chinese themselves were limited to notoriously low customs rates on imports. The Boxer Revolution of 1900 and the recent uprisings in China have been very largely caused by the oppressive activities of foreign investors supported by the armed forces of their home governments. Such procedure makes for nothing but international hatred and a desire to throw off the oppressor.

### Investors, Diplomacy and Bullets

Even more serious has been the intimidation or the military or naval occupation of weaker states at the behest of investors. The investor of capital in some weak state may believe that his interests are not adequately protected by the laws and institutions of the state in which he is carrying on business, or may find it difficult to collect his debts in this same country. He then hastens at once to the state department or foreign office of his home government and demands that his economic and financial interests be protected by the army or marines of his mother country. This has led to notorious intervention on the part of various states and the forceful occupation of weaker or dependent states in order to collect the debts due to private citizens. This procedure is a direct repudiation of the established practice in regard to domestic debts within each state. An investor at home would never for a moment dream of requesting so preposterous a thing as the use of the standing army to enable him to collect a debt, but the investor abroad demands exactly this form of special protection and intervention. This has produced a large number of irritating and oppressive incidents in modern international relations, perhaps the most notorious of which have been our own relations with various Latin-American countries, where our for-



# DISARMAMENT!

## *London Naval Conference Balked by Imperialist Designs*

By HARRY ELMER BARNES

Foreign policy has been very extensively dictated by the wishes and interests of our investors, the vigorous disclaimers of ex-Secretary Hughes notwithstanding. Nothing else has done so much to produce international discord on the western hemisphere, but our American examples of this behavior are only representative illustrations of a well-nigh universal practice on the part of the more-powerful states of the modern world as exemplified by the recent activities of the British in Egypt, China, and Persia, or the French in Morocco and Syria.

### The Tariff Wars

The international menace inherent in many modern economic conditions, particularly imperialism and foreign investments, has been intensified by the differential and discriminatory system of protective tariffs which has evolved parallel with the rise of modern industry and world commerce. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a steady movement toward free trade, but the rise of modern industrialism, nationalism, and imperialism produced a strong reaction in favor of that form of economic nationalism which is known as the protective tariff. Even the most extreme exponents of this policy in the earlier days contended that it was desirable only when helping a developing industrial state to establish itself in a condition of relative economic equality with more advanced states. As Friedrich List himself admitted, there is no valid justification for a protective tariff on the part of a well-developed industrial state. Yet the modern politicians and special economic interests have secured a well-nigh universal adoption of the protective tariff system, which is nothing else than a form of economic warfare

continuing during the periods of assumed political peace. Particularly has this been true of the discriminatory tariff systems which were common in Europe before the World War and have in some cases been continued in an even more irritating form since that conflict has officially terminated. We shall never be able to eliminate the economic causes of war so long as the archaic principle of the protective tariff remains an unabated nuisance. Unfortunately, there is little prospect at present for relief in this direction. Even England has believed herself compelled to revert to the tariff system after nearly a century of approximately free trade, while the United States now finds itself laboring under the most atrocious tariff law in the history of our country.

But the basest and most vile of all the forms of the economic causes of war are those which are related to the propaganda of various firms engaged in the manufacturing of armor, explosives, and various other types of munitions used in warfare, both on land and water. Such organizations subsidize the militaristic propaganda, support patriotic societies, and contribute enthusiastically to the maintenance of speakers and periodicals which emphasize the value of citizens' training camps and other forms of effort to keep the military cult forcefully before the people. These groups were particularly active in urging the United States to enter the World War in 1914 and in demanding the continuance of the War until the Allied troops stood in Berlin.

### Economic Forces Making For Peace

Though these very real and potent economic causes of war exist, it has long since become apparent to the in-

telligent and penetrating economists that modern economic society is becoming more and more a world society in every important sense. Modern methods of communication and transportation have tended to make the world ever more an economic unit characterized by interdependence and the necessity for cooperation. Only the foolhardy psychological attitudes which have come down from an earlier age serve as pseudo-economic motives for division and discord. Further, as Norman Angell warned before the War and fully proved upon the basis of the results of the recent World War, no war can today be a profitable one, even for the victors. The main hopes for the mitigation of the economic forces making for war are, on the one hand, the development of an educational program designed to reveal the menace of economic imperialism and the high protective tariff system, and, on the other hand, the gradual recognition on the part of the more intelligent and forward-looking bankers and investors that the old system was wrong-headed in its notions and must be modified if ultimate disaster is to be averted.

It is futile to talk about Peace and make gestures towards disarmament without such a change of international outlook as would naturally involve both the spirit and fact of disarmament. As long as peoples think in terms of arms and wars and have recourse to arms to settle international disputes, even real and thoroughgoing disarmament would be of little or no significance. With our modern technical proficiency in the manufacture of munitions we could within six months equip armies with a far more formidable set of instruments for destruction than were known to Napoleon or General Grant. We ought to be even less misled by the much-her-



alded Disarmament Conference at Washington in 1921 which, however much it may have achieved temporarily in the diplomatic settlement of the Far East, was a pure burlesque as far as disarmament is concerned. The only equipment about which there was any agreement as to disarmament and abandonment was those forms of armament which had already become hopelessly obsolete. It was equivalent to a group of sportsmen in 1929 agreeing to dispense with flint-lock muskets in their fall shooting exercises. We must accustom ourselves to referring causes of international dispute to leagues of nations and world courts, or else disarmament will be no more than a meaningless, if not dangerous, rhetorical illusion. We should not, of course, overlook the fact that a mere assembling of a conference on disarmament, however futile its achievements, was in itself a gesture of high psychological significance in the field of international relations and diplomatic discussion. The unfair and misleading disarmament proposals of the League of Nations, so relentlessly exposed by Count Montgelas, indicate, however, that the true spirit of disarmament has not yet triumphed among the powers which today control Europe and the League.

The post war aggressiveness of France nullifies any move towards disarmament that may be started. One of the persistent, and yet one of the most insidious phases of the Entente propaganda since the War has been the constant reiteration that the security of Europe and the world is identical with the security of France. Our present knowledge of the French part in launching the War of 1870, the menacing French spirit of revenge following 1871, the French diplomatic intrigues and aggressive aims in the Franco-Prussian Alliance, the relatively unparalleled French militarism and military expenditures in 1914, the prominent part played by France in precipitating the War, and the domination of Europe by French aggression and militarism since 1918 should be sufficient to convince even the most biased Francophile Americans that we cannot found the slightest expectation of European peace upon any plan which gives France either security or ascendancy in Europe at the expense of other countries. There can be no security for Europe which does not rest upon a general European organization which will insure the security, as well as hold in restraint the military tendencies of France, Germany, or any other country. It must be em-

phasized, of course, that when we speak critically of France we refer to the France of Deroulede, Barres, Delcasse, Poincare, Tardieu, and other exponents of revenge, war, and militarism, from whatever parties and groups drawn. France, under men like Combes, Painleve, Caillaux, and Herriot, would be not only as good, but, in the opinion of the present writer, a little better than other European states.

We have not here laid stress upon the militarism or secret diplomacy of Germany, primarily because few Americans have harbored any illusions on this subject, unless it be an unfair impression of the relative extent and menace of German militarism as compared with that of France and Russia. The writer is no apologist for German *Politik*, but a fair and candid study of European diplomacy, nationalism, and militarism since 1870 has gradually but certainly shown us how impossible it is to maintain the old thesis that Germany was not only primarily responsible for the World War but was also the chief source and stimulus of the savage patriotism and excessive armaments of Europe in the forty years before the calamity of 1914. The writer does believe, however, that one of the few real and substantial positive gains of the World War is to be found in the breaking of the power of the narrow but powerful clique of extreme and arrogant militarists in Germany, and it is one of the chief counts against Poincare that his savage post-War policy in regard to Germany has given this group in Germany a greatly increased popularity and prestige.

In the development of the war spirit since 1918 the League of Nations appears to have done well what it can do in the way of mitigating contemporary imperialism, but its power and functions are limited to relatively incidental details concerning secondary issues.

### Futile Gestures

The League is virtually as impotent in curbing militarism and navalism as in ending capitalism or imperialism. All of the member states, except Germany and her former allies, are overwhelmingly committed to the maintenance of large armaments, and hence their representatives at Geneva can do little except to bluff and stall with respect to disarmament. The Covenant of the League is explicit about the desirability of definitive disarmament. Article VIII specifically says:

The members of the League recog-

nize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval, and air programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

### Disarmament and Security

In the Third Assembly of the League of Nations (1922) the possibility of sincere action in regard to disarmament was still further delayed and evaded by the famous Resolution XIV, proclaiming that the member states of the League could not seriously contemplate disarmament unless some provision was made for security and protection. As a general principle this statement can hardly be criticized, but one can scarcely hold that Resolution XIV was made in good faith. It was the second great echo of the French aspiration for special protection, so that she might feel safe in retaining the spoils of victory. It was intermediate between the abortive Security Pact of 1919 and the final effort in the Geneva Protocol. There was certainly nothing to cause apprehension on the part of the Entente, which easily dominated the League. Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria were disarmed and helpless and Russia was absorbed with internal problems and was ever fer-



tile with plans and proposals for universal disarmament. If there was ever a favorable time for universal disarmament it was in 1922. The plain fact is that the Entente has never been willing honestly to contemplate the continuation of the injustices of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon, and Neuilly without at the same time perpetuating their overwhelming military preponderance over the defeated powers.

Nothing substantial has been done to effect any real disarmament. This has been due chiefly to the insistence of France upon huge land armies for her and for her allies and to Great Britain's determination to maintain an ever larger and better navy. The Russian government has repeatedly invited the League to consider disarmament in an honest fashion, but its suggestions have been uniformly ignored or rebuffed. As a result, we find that the world, outside of Germany and her former allies, is actually spending more for armaments in 1929 than in 1913. Further, there has never been such a disparity in armaments between conflicting groups of powers as that which exists today between France, England, and their allies and Germany and her former allies. In land armament France and her allies can muster a force more than forty times the paper strength of the armies and reserves of Germany and her allies. The naval discrepancy is even greater. This is the outcome, for the present at least, of President Wilson's crusade to end any military and naval hegemony in Europe. While France's military increases are still aimed chiefly at Germany, the British naval plans are formulated chiefly with respect to the prospect of a struggle with the United States, as we have superseded Ger-

many as the great financial, commercial, imperialistic, and naval rival of Great Britain.

### Hughes's Proposals

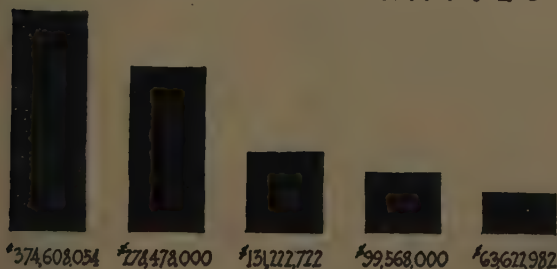
In the period since the Hague Conferences the most important international gesture in this field was the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments called by invitation of the United States on August 11, 1921, and opened in Washington on November 12, 1921. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes set forth the view of the United States that the Conference should aim at the preservation of the *status quo* in naval armament and should disapprove all efforts of any one state to establish overwhelming naval preponderance. This involved a willingness to abandon existing building plans of capital ships for the future and to scrap capital ships of an older order. As a result, the United States, Great Britain, and Japan agreed to provide for the scrapping of some seventy-nine ships built or building with a tonnage of 2,200,000. During the period of the operation of the limitation agreement these three states consented to the proposal to attain in 1931 a naval ratio of capital ships of "five-five-three," that Great Britain and the United States would be equal in strength as to capital ships and Japan should have a navy sixty per cent as strong as either. In this arrangement the United States made the greatest sacrifice, giving up fifteen ships to seven for Japan and four for Great Britain. This ratio is to be preserved from 1931 until 1937, when the time limit agreed upon expires.

Many hailed this arrangement as a great triumph for the principle of self-sacrifice and peace, but it was for the most part a hollow sham, except in so far as conferences are good international gestures and in so far as the Conference incidentally did much to straighten out tangles in Far Eastern diplomacy. The craft regarding which the agreement of limitation or scrapping was reached were essentially obsolete or approach-

ing the obsolete in modern naval warfare. There was no agreement reached as to the limitation of light cruisers, submarines, or air craft. France refused to consider submarine limitation, in spite of the earnest endeavors of Great Britain to force an agreement to put an end to the existence of such craft. Hence, Great Britain refused to consent to the limitation of light cruisers which were essential to combat submarines. There was no progress made in regard to land disarmament because France resolutely blocked any such proposal, on the absurd contention that she needed her vast army to protect herself against disarmed Germany. It is interesting to contrast the almost universal condemnation of Germany on the false charge of her having blocked disarmament at The Hague with the practically complete public ignoring of the action of France in actually blocking all discussion of military disarmament at the Washington Conference. Therefore, one may say that the Washington Conference was a mockery of disarmament, in which farce the United States was the chief victim. The only progress growing out of it related to oriental affairs. A treaty, the so-called "Nine Power Pact," was accepted, providing added protection for China and defending more adequately her rights as a neutral state. Another treaty, the so-called "Four Power Pact" offered Japan protection against an Anglo-American attack. Japan consented to abandon the Shantung Peninsula and return it to China, and an agreement was reached between Japan and the United States concerning the Island of Yap, important to the United States as a cable-crossing. This advance in good will was impaired by our unnecessary affront to Japan in 1924 in terminating the "Gentlemen's Agreement." The United States later participated in European disarmament negotiations by sending delegations to confer with the League Preparatory Commission on Disarmament in 1927 and subsequent years.

The problem of further naval disarmament was once again discussed at the Geneva Conference of June 20 to August 4, 1927, once more called by the United States. Here the chief *impasse* arose between the United States and Great Britain. The former desired to extend the five-five-three arrangement to all classes of craft, but Great Britain refused to consider such limitation of her light cruisers, deemed essential to the policing and defense of her great empire and extensive commerce.

## · MONEY · COST · · OF · THE · FIVE · NAVIES ·



UNITED STATES    BRITISH EMPIRE    JAPAN    FRANCE    ITALY

FROM TABLES OF BURTON L. FRENCH, CHAIRMAN OF HOUSE NAVAL APPROPRIATIONS SUB-COMMITTEE, IN "CURRENT HISTORY," JANUARY, 1930

# Independent Workers Classes Flourish

By HELEN G. NORTON

**F**AIR AND WARMER." The sunny warm days which the Weather Man, by special arrangement, furnished for the Washington Birthday conference on workers education at Brookwood College was symbolic of the whole tenor of the discussion. "The rain descended and the floods came and the winds blew" during the last two years, but the house built upon the rock is still standing, thank you, and the household is growing larger.

Local labor colleges and groups such as Seattle, Denver, and Philadelphia, the women's summer schools at Bryn Mawr and in the South, and the Y. W. C. A. industrial groups were all reported to be functioning effectively. The five-months old Vineyard Shore school at West Park, N. Y., which gives a full-time course for women workers is proving successful. Brookwood has a record student body, an unprecedented number of applicants for next year, and more demands for extension work than it can take care of.

## The South

The Southern Summer School reported, as a measure of its effectiveness, that girls had been fired from their jobs for attending it and that many textile bosses were forbidding their employees to attend Y. W. industrial groups where social and economic questions were discussed.

"Shows how kindly the southern employers are taking to the idea of unionism," was the caustic comment of one conference member. "The A. F. of L. campaign to organize the South by making industry safe for the employer will appeal neither to the boss nor the worker."

"Union-management cooperation is possible only where you have a recognized, powerful, efficient union," said A. J. Muste. "The attempt to build such unions and to establish the right of collective bargaining constitutes in itself a revolutionary movement in the South. The employers will not yield without a struggle."

"On the other hand, the southern workers are not going to be enthusiastic about an appeal to organize for better cooperation with the boss. They have certain grievances—long hours, low pay, the stretchout. Only a union which seeks redress for those

grievances will appeal to them; and such redress is impossible under "cooperation" for the employers want their production costs reduced, not raised. Any campaign which does not face the inevitability of a long drawn out industrial conflict in the South and prepare for it will be a failure."

Southern Negro workers must be organized if the trade union movement is to establish itself in the South, said Abram L. Harris, of the department of economics at Howard University. "Racial antagonism is a pleasant alibi, but it will not be a real factor if workers, both white and black, are made aware of the identity of their economic interests. What will happen in five or ten years if the Negroes who constitute a vast industrial reserve army are left out of the trade unions is just what happened to the United Mine Workers in West Virginia and Alabama—employers will introduce Negro workers to undercut white standards until the unions will be powerless."

## Political Action

James H. Maurer, veteran labor leader, Socialist and workers education exponent, spoke on the education of workers for independent political action.

DeVere Allen, editor of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* contributed a paper on the subject which said in part, "Turning out a flow of potential labor leaders who are alert to the larger social implications of the Labor Movement is alone bound to exert an influence on the political scene. Only a truly class conscious workers education can furnish the motive without which neither political action nor industrial emancipation can be accomplished; namely, a zest for conquest over the forces of social progress so that labor may shape its own destinies."

The labor press and workers education have the same job, Harold Z. Brown of the Federated Press told the group. "Workers education can furnish highly skilled propagandists to the labor press; the labor press can furnish teachers of labor journalism and supply current information on current happenings to workers education groups."

## University Extension Cooperation

In California, where workers education is conducted in cooperation with the extension division of the state university, J. L. Kerchen, the director, reports 12 workers education classes in public speaking, theory of wages, etc., as for six years previous.

"Cooperation with the university extension division is on a friendly and cordial basis and facilitates any kind of education that Labor desires," he writes. The only obstacle is that Labor desires are so easily satisfied. To say the least, workers education in California has not measured up to standards set and hoped for by its founders."

As remedies for the apathy and ineffectiveness of workers education Mr. Kerchen suggests the creation of an increased tolerance toward critical thinking which is taboo in the American Labor Movement today; a functioning relationship with the Labor Movement; and the use of workers education in helping revise the program and tactics of the trade union movement.

## The Practical Approach

"Workers education must dig into local labor situations through intelligent discussion of unemployment, injunctions, old age pensions and other practical problems as they come up," said J. C. Kennedy, former head of the Seattle Labor College and now director of studies at Brookwood. "The function of workers education is to serve the Labor Movement, and it cannot do so by justifying, whitewashing or even ignoring the deadly influence of crooked or reactionary elements."

"In cases of actual crookedness, progressives will be unable to win control of union administration and to put into effect better policies. You cannot get an honest count of ballots. In such cases, the only way out may be to build a new union."

Over 40 teachers and leaders of workers education, representing 18 groups, were present at the conference, which is the eighth to be conducted yearly under the auspices of Local 189, American Federation of Teachers.



# Following the Fight

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

## Pay the Unemployed

FOR the first time in many a year, we have heard the ominous terms "Bloodshed" and "Revolution" uttered in the United States Senate. Used by way of prophecy in the debate on the untouchable Supreme Court, they reflect the uneasiness existing in the mortgaged homestead of the unemployed free man.

The extent of this rising tide of discontent is indicated by the strenuous efforts made to head it off. Alarmed, the Hon. "Jim" Davis, honest iron puddler, tried to do his bit. "Taint so," he cried, "taint so." And went so far as to imply that Miss Frances Perkins of New York was a political prevaricator. The figures of his own U. S. Labor Department discovered "Jim" as a very badly confused man. January unemployment had jumped up, at the exact percentage that Miss Perkins had said it had.

Chambers of Commerce in Grundyized Pennsylvania have likewise rushed into the breach. Conferences on unemployment, under C. of C. auspices, have decorated the front pages of numerous local newspapers in that State. With one voice, they have recommended a remedy which is at least unique. Writing to the churches, they have implored those ladies to urge housewives to paint up and clean up with a vengeance. In that way, the unemployed will be given work. The difficulty with the "remedy" is that it does not work. The unemployed show no keen desire to become housekeepers, and the housewives seem to feel the pinch of unemployment themselves.

The simple idea of paying the unemployed has apparently not registered anywhere. Labor has not murmured a word about it. Capital takes a seizure akin to delirium tremens whenever it is mentioned. Communists, with a verve all their own, have dramatized the issue. City Halls have witnessed deputations of the unwashed and out-of-works, met invariably by the nightsticks of the cops. Publicity has come out of such "red" demonstrations, but as yet nothing more. The demand for unemployment insurance, probably entwined in such mass movements, has been lost in the scuffle.

It is up to Labor to bring this idea vividly to the forefront. The American Federation of Labor is now pledged to old age pensions. It has taken the dive into the cold waters of "paternalism." Unemployment insurance is an urgent next step. There is nothing radical about the proposal. Nothing "destructive." It is indeed, eminently conservative and "constructive." With the unemployed receiving a few dollars in doles from the State, "Bloodshed" and "Revolution" will be buried temporarily with the mummy King Tut. Given time, Rotarians may permit discussion of such insurance at their noon-day "whoopie" parties.

When in power, the Tories of Britain did not dare destroy social insurance.

Such insurance is not a substitute for the 5-day week, which has merits on its own account. The National Industrial Conference Board, employers' agency, has just completed a study of the 5-day week in 270 establishments. This study shows that the shorter work week can be of

help in curbing production and thus passing around available work. It has proved successful in other ways. But the 5-day week cannot aid the men or women immediately unemployed. It cannot cure crucial unemployment. Eventually, there is a question (from past experience) if it will have any great effect on production; new processes and new inventions hurrying along again the production per worker. The person unemployed wants aid, and needs aid, immediately. State insurance will bring him that.

Although whimpering about it, they recognize it as a preventative of violent social revolution. Under our present capitalist economy, it is a matter of crude justice and necessity. The unemployed are unemployed because other people have made profits out of their labor. Money recompense by the State is the simple way to keep them from want, when they are out of work for having labored too faithfully and too well.

The American Labor Movement can win many converts among the potentially organizable by a sincere and determined campaign for "Pay for the Unemployed!"

---

### "INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM!"

FROM various parts of the country there come appeals and other rumblings and grumbings beside unemployment. It appears that the potentially organizable want to be organized. But there is a difficulty. They want industrial unionism. And industrial unionism, even through Federal Labor Unions, is frequently not to be had from the A. F. of L.

We have often asked the question of late, quietly and privately: "How can industrial unionism be adopted by the A. F. of L., to meet present demands?" In mill and factory industries, when organization is rumored, the local representatives of the Movement must begin to dicker with anywhere from five to fifteen international unions. These unions propose to divide up the workers, and the workers prefer to remain together. Sometimes they have suffered from the dividing-up process in the past. They do not care to try it again.

The A. F. of L. should feel moved, in view of this growing demand for industrial unionism, to answer the "How" of it. Should every request for organization in a mill and factory industry—excepting mines, textiles and ladies garments—be met with the scramble for membership between internationals, who do not get the members anyway? This procedure leads only to disgust and to an increase of the defeatist spirit.

Ours is the much-heralded Machine Age. Machine age unionism is in order, not mule power forms of organization. Almost any economic item in the news reminds us of that. Vacuum Oil and Standard Oil openly effect the merger they have always enjoyed, amid mild surprise. But, is there not a hint there that the oil workers on Constable Hook—for Vacuum and Standard alike—should be

industrially aroused and industrially organized? Should some Don Quixote of unionism go out to Bayonne to arouse them, and appeal to the A. F. of L., he would learn about all sorts of craft unions to which they might belong. Not a word about one union for oil workers! This editorial person writes with some feeling; he played Don Quixote once!

So conservative an economist as Dr. F. W. Taussig has pointed out that the present structure of the A. F. of L. cannot make progress, in the places where it is most needed. Experience in the field checks and double-checks this view. There are a dozen places within the knowledge of C. P. L. A. officials where the workers want organization. The A. F. of L. can answer with craft unionism; the unorganized consider that no answer. They want a union "like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers." Such a request is becoming almost like a chorus.

In Philadelphia, all sorts of workers—machinists, molders, and others—applied to labor offices "for membership in the Amalgamated." We set these events down as facts, for the consideration of the A. F. of L. And facts they are, which cannot be escaped. There should be a universal shedding of jurisdiction in the mill and factory industries, just as the feudal lords renounced their lands and titles by acclamation in the French Revolution. In that case, we would hear much less of the "aristocracy of labor." In that case, too, we would hear much more of honest-to-God unionizing in the factory industries.

Query: Why cannot the next A. F. of L. convention take this courageous leap, and open the way for industrial unions in the unorganized and present-day unorganizable fields?

### LOST BATTALIONS

THOSE folks, out in the widespread unorganized fields, who write in for "industrial unionism," must know that there is no magic in those words. When this vital form of organization has been hit upon, the battle has just begun.

It is a long time since we heard in school or somewhere else, that an army travels on its belly. Strikes are war; the strike army travels in accordance with the efficiency of its commissariat. Strikers must be fed; they must be defended from frame-up and from official and judicial assaults on their picket lines. The Employing Interests now carry the judges around in their pockets. The courts have become moral blackjacks in the strikebreaking apparatus. If there is a magic word at all in organization and strike problems, that magic word is "Money!"

Nothing is more discouraging than to be hemmed in, in a strike situation, without money, subject to the attacks of the workers' enemies, and being unable to answer them from lack of funds. Under those circumstances, the strikers' army becomes a lost battalion of the class war.

To avoid such "lost battalions," publicity is a weapon of the first order. And to repeat an old story, publicity arises from action. Get workers to go to jail for principle, and the newspapers cannot ignore the event for long. It must come out! Get workers to make other sacrifices of a dramatic character, and they become news.

To "get workers" to do such things, they must be inspired with the knowledge that they are in a mighty fight for liberty. Education helps there. Strikes are the most powerful agencies for education; and no matter what the

outcome of the immediate struggle, if education of the workers is thoroughly worked out, there will be no "lost battalions." There will be left the seeds of unionism, to sprout up again on the slightest provocation.

A splendid agency of strike publicity and strike education—supplementary to instructive meetings, dramatizations of the fight and local publicity—is the Federated Press News Service. We have heard many workers speak well of it, on the battlefronts. We have been advised far in advance, that the F. P. is to have its annual dinner on April 18th, in New York City. Those who wish to keep the strike organization fervor alive, could do worse than attend this dinner. They might learn something of more than passing value.

### REMEMBER THE SOUTH!

FEW words have come out of the South, concerning the progress of the union drive. It is still somewhat early for an accounting. Lack of news, we beg to state, can scarcely be a good excuse for lack of interest.

Granting the many other problems that unions and union sympathizers are facing, the South cannot be passed up as something to be forgotten. There is unemployment, we know, at many union doors. There have been stock market slumps in the pocketbooks of well-disposed Liberals. Despite these various afflictions with which the Mammon of iniquity has visited us, we cannot allow the Southern drive to abate because of money shortage.

Since the A. F. of L. has thrown itself into the fight, it should be supported to the limit of our abilities. Another little pamphlet, just issued, reminds us of what Southern conditions mean. It is the work of the Intercollegiate Council of the League for Industrial Democracy. "Southern Labor in Revolt" is its title, and it is an exceptionally well-done little piece of research work.

Two things can be quoted from it here, to renew our ardor in the Southern crusade. Average wages cited by it from U.S. Department of Commerce figures in cotton manufacture are as follows: Northern states, New Hampshire, \$18.14 per week; Massachusetts \$16.47; Rhode Island, \$18.93. Southern states, Alabama, \$10.19; Georgia, \$11.73; North Carolina, \$12.23; South Carolina, \$9.56. Nothing more need be said on that point.

As to the previous campaigns, the net result is summed up: "At the end of seven months of struggle for the right to organize the strikers' toll is: six men and one woman killed; twenty-four wounded; seven sentenced to prison for from five to twenty years; three men sentenced to six months on the chain gang; seven sentenced to a total of one hundred and seventeen years in the state penitentiary; seven kidnapped and five flogged by mobs.

"For the Southern manufacturers and the state of North Carolina: exoneration for the eight deputies accused of the Marion murders; a half-hearted and belated attempt to prosecute those who killed Ella May Wiggins, initiated only after persistent public pressure mostly from without the state; and dismissal of the charges against the kidnappers of Wells, Saylor and Lell."

There stands the present South: black, vile, blood-stained. One day the blood will be washed away; the dark spots will be cleansed. But now—in March, 1930—they are there.



# The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT

THE consumer and the machine; did you ever stop to reflect on what the latter is doing to the former? Says a capitalist who thinks: "We are in the machine age and are destined to put more and more in the machine and less and less in human toil. It logically follows that unless we have consumers for our mass production the markets will be glutted."

Now that would appear to be perfectly obvious: You can't strike the consumers off the payroll and have your consumption too. Nevertheless, that is the very paradox that most capitalists are trying to perform. They are trying to expand markets by reducing the consumer, via wholesale machine displacements; to a condition of innocuous destitution. (Were his destitution otherwise the consumers might revolt.) Yet this endeavor is applauded as sanely possible. Could anything be more psychopathological, or, in plainer language, crazier?

Nevertheless, it is these brainy capitalists that THE NEW REPUBLIC calls on to form an "Economic Council" for planful production; and FORBES believes they ought to organize an "Institute of Industrial Co-ordination," to end our economic chaos.

Why not start with mental co-ordination? It's the first requisite, under the circumstances.

\* \* \*

The march of the machine is so tumultuous that the machine is, figuratively speaking, trampling even itself under foot. That is, the machine is even displacing itself, no less than labor. Because of increased tractive power, locomotives in use decreased 7 per cent in ten years. Interstate Commerce Commission figures give the number at the close of 1928 as 63,311, compared with 67,936 ten years previously.

\* \* \*

The machine has its indiscriminate boosters. Say they, "While the machine displaces labor the making of labor displacing machines on the other hand gives employment to labor." Now that ought to be interesting to the large number of unemployed machinists. They will tell you, if you

listen to them, that the machine tends to displace even its maker, as well as itself.

\* \* \*

We talk of "Sick industries." Sick of what? Plainly, of machinists. That is, a mechanical capacity larger than consumptive demands. It is a spreading disease.

\* \* \*

The steel plants are working 75 per cent capacity at this writing, after a period of many months at 40 per cent capacity. The new Johnston process for electric welding of steel tubing is not likely to maintain the new record, but compel a reversion to one lower than the old one. It operates at a speed of 65 to 150 feet a minute, against an average of about 12 feet by older processes.

\* \* \*

The annual payroll at the Potomac Railroad yards has been cut \$90,000 and 50 train service men who rode and applied brakes on cars running down the hump were discharged. Machinery and improved processes did it. Which reminds us that it is estimated that the 21 system mergers will displace from 175,000 to 500,000 railroad workers; the latter over a period of five years. This is how machines and mergers stimulate work, *a la* the President's idea—by cutting it out.

\* \* \*

Contrary to all claims, the president of the Paterson movie operators' union says sound pictures do not make more jobs for his craft in "the silk city." He says the squawkies have brought only extra work without extra pay in his territory. The machine gives the boss something for nothing: more labor without more pay. Ask the "stretched out" textile workers for corroboration.

\* \* \*

A monorail for setting stone in place on large buildings under construction will put over half the stone setters and helpers out of a job when it comes into extensive practical use. Stone setters' scale in New York City is \$1.92½ per hour. The machine is no respecter of labor, whether high priced or low.



Locomotive Engineers' Journal.

When did the march of the machine begin? Let Stuart Chase tell it in his own inimitable way. Says he, in THE COOPERATIVE CRIER:

"One Sunday afternoon in the year 1765 an instrument maker named James Watt took a stroll over Glasgow Green towards the Golf House, his brows in a tangle of perplexity. Suddenly he smiled. And that, my friends, was perhaps the most momentous smile in all the long history of mankind. With it, Watt solved the problem of a vacuum in a steam chamber, and made a practicable steam engine possible. With it, the industrial revolution was born; the great procession of the machine began to march. A billion and a half horsepower of mechanical energy is today the legacy of that smile."

\* \* \*

Our own "Jim" Maurer asks, "The Machine Leads Us—Where?" His answer is, to wages instead of labor saving, with increased profits to corporations and decreased purchasing power and opportunities of employment to labor. He believes reduced hours and wage increases are helpful as remedies. But urges a change in the whole system of production and distribution via independent working class politics, as being the only thing of permanent value. He says substantially "all labor saving machines, all tools of production and distribution must be used in the interests of all the people instead of the profit of the few and the misery of the many." If we were given to religious hysteria we'd cry out, "Amen, brother; amen!" As it is, we'll O. K. them there words.

# C. P. L. A. Covers Wide Area

THE main points of this month's recital of C. P. L. A. events center around a sea of unemployment, unfathomable and wide. New York, the Empire State, is the scene most directly touched by representatives of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The situation found there, however, cannot be very different from that of the rest of the land and according to all newspaper reports, it is not.

Opening up a new trail for C. P. L. A. sentiment, Israel Mufson, Executive Secretary, followed the Mohawk Valley and beyond, reaching out from Albany to Rochester and surrounding territory. Albany, Schenectady, Cohoes, Utica, Syracuse, Watertown, Rochester and Ithaca were the places visited in the order named. Everywhere new friends were made for the progressive cause and much literature distributed. In Ithaca he was warmly welcomed by Cornell student members of the Cornell Liberal Club.

One need not go on a slumming party in the Southern textile area to find abominable working and living conditions. Any textile town in the proud Empire State will present the same sordid appearance, in the winter time making an uglier picture than the Southland, because of the dirt and refuse hardened for the season's safe keeping in the equally dirty ice that everywhere abounds. In many of these towns, men can't find employment at all. "Women and children first," once the proud slogan of a valorous era, has now lost its former chivalric significance in this mechanized age and has come to mean women and children first in the factory. Men are not even last.

In cities like Schenectady and Rochester, where one industry dominates the community, the General Electric in the former and Eastman Kodak in the latter, the prevailing sentiment is outspokenly anti-union and "welfarish." In every city union sentiment is low, with the younger elements conspicuous by their absence at any meeting dealing with the labor problem. As a mass organization representing a worker's viewpoint the local Labor Movements have lost whatever significance they may have had in the past. In some of the towns, especially Schenectady and Syracuse, the realization is dawning among both rank and filers and labor officials that

much of its present impotency is due to the milk and water non-partisan policy of labor. They will recount with a sort of masochistic pleasure the many times labor has been taken into camp by the lying politicians of both parties. A strong sentiment is developing for independent political action. The discussions which follow C. P. L. A. meetings usually deal with that phase of its program more extensively than with any other.

Industrially the workers seem to be dazed by the widespread extent of unemployment in the State. From thirty to more than fifty per cent of idleness is the usual report of every city visited, some organized trades facing 100 per cent idleness. When the official reports of the American Federation of Labor, which hitherto soft pedaled as much as they could the seriousness of the present depression, state that more trade union members were unemployed in January "than even in the worst month two winters ago when there was so much suffering from unemployment," it can be taken for granted that New York State trade unionists have a real situation to face.

The tragic truth, however, is that neither they nor the trade union movement are in a position to do anything about it. The A. F. of L.'s policy of peace with Mr. Hoover and his government has left the local movements without leadership to whom to look for guidance. Neither can they advocate relief measures to meet the situation because the A. F. of L. is cool to social remedial legislation of such nature. In addition the weakening of the Labor Movement generally leaves it without influence either in the community or the State. At present, though there may be a good deal of grumbling, there is no organized movement to make this grumbling effective. The message of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, therefore, is eagerly listened to by those who still have some hope left. Unfortunately, the latter are drawn mainly from among the old war horses who have courage and to spare. The younger elements, having been entirely overlooked during the past ten years by organized labor, are somewhere in the community but not in the union halls where they are needed.

Nevertheless, Israel Mufson reports a real interest in the C. P. L. A. pro-

gram, not only among labor people but among other groups who realize that a strong and socially minded Labor Movement is essential for the safeguarding of American liberties and the pursuit of happiness.

## II.

Chairman A. J. Muste continued his usual round of visits to conferences and meetings, making a specially prolonged stay at Buffalo, N. Y., where he addressed several Y. W. C. A. conferences, the Executive Committee of the Urban League, and the local branch of the C. P. L. A. Workers from a score of unions were present at the latter meeting and were enthused by the brilliant speech of the chairman.

At the request of some of the members of the local branch a class in labor problems has been started which will meet regularly for round table discussion to be led by a local interested professor. Some of the members have signed up for the Brookwood correspondence courses.

A group of Negro red caps have affiliated with the Buffalo Branch and are consulting the C. P. L. A. about the immediate and ultimate solution of the unbearable conditions under which they work. They have several grievances, the chief one being that they are paid no wages. They must rely wholly on tips. In the new New York Central station the route to trains is very long so that the tips have been thinned out. Furthermore, since the company is not paying any wages it has employed in the service more men than are actually needed. The red caps state that efficient service could be rendered with 25 per cent fewer men.

At present these workers are meeting together in discussion groups to define their problem in order to take the necessary steps to remedy the evils of their employment. Their wish is to become self-supporting working men and not a charge upon society.

The local C. P. L. A. will help all they can in this laudable effort, Florence Adams, secretary, reports.

The Niagara Falls people are still continuing active planning for a stronger Labor Party in the very near future and are working for a stronger Labor Movement in the present. To begin with the Niagara Falls Labor Party had as their guest Fenner Brockway, the distinguished British



## TIME TO WAKE UP



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Hensley.

Labor Party idea grows as workers see futility of the A. F. of L. non-partisan policy.

Labor M. P., who spoke at Howard Hall on January 25. He urged his hearers to continue their work in maintaining their organization. The chairman of the meeting was J. Pearson, President of the Building Trades Council.

The newly perfected Federal Union for unskilled workers is growing and with the fine work of Harry Daubney the local people expect the unskilled workers soon to be as effectively organized as the craftsmen. The president of the new Federal Union is James C. Healy, a live wire who not only is interested in heading this new organization but is starting a labor paper, called the NIAGARA FALLS LABOR NEWS, to assist the workers politically and industrially. The paper will be a semi-monthly.

Daubney reports that before the middle of 1930 he expects 4,000 workers to have become affiliated with the Federal Union. "And furthermore," he states, "we shall put some of them in the city hall as soon as things get ripe." The Niagara

Falls Labor Party, which is affiliated with the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and which has the hearty endorsement of the local Labor Movement, is one of the most energetic groups in the American scene today.

## III.

The Pittsburgh C. P. L. A. finds no time for idle hands to grasp at straws for something to do. In addition to the taxicab strike, for the continuance of which the C. P. L. A. members are responsible and who are the main support of the boys battling for recognition, they make short trips to nearby communities to get the local labor people C. P. L. A. conscious. Bill Chalmers, Chairman of the Pittsburgh C. P. L. A., working with James Gent of Beaver, Pa., has brought together the progressive laborites from that little community and a local branch was formed. This latest addition to the C. P. L. A. family is drawing up a program for action to keep the members busy during the coming months.

With regard to his investigation of the steel industry, Chalmers states that there is more unrest among the steel workers than there has been in years past. It is possible that the depression is partly responsible but there are more fundamental causes which are gradually arousing their dissatisfaction. "Prosperity" and the advantages of this "new era" in America, are unknown phenomena amongst them. They are pining for leadership that will advance them out of their present unenviable status.

In the Lackawanna plant of Bethlehem Steel there is a great deal of underemployment. Production is on a 60 per cent schedule. There are no prospects for any rapid improvement of the situation. Bethlehem is following the U. S. Steel policy of rotating jobs instead of laying off men. While this is of some advantage to the workers it means a constant over supply of labor, making each man's job less secure and the position of the employer all the stronger.

The plant has a company union plan which has been operating since 1922. Last year the company changed the personnel manager in charge of the plant. The new man is more of a high powered salesman and more capable of putting over the company union idea, against which the workers have begun to balk. Even the staunch defenders of the company union plan admit it is absolutely unable to handle the basic problem of the workers—wages, hours and improved working conditions. They also admit that the company gets a great deal more from the plant than do the men.

In order to do something about their insecurity, bad working and housing conditions, the workers of Lackawanna have attempted some political activity. The Socialist administration following the 1922 strike was not able to effect any great improvement and Socialist party activity at present is directed towards petty political maneuvering. It appears that in Lackawanna any political activity waits on and is dependent upon the development of clear-cut worker organizations.

But organization of the Lackawanna workers will not be a simple task. The system of spies and stool pigeons is so prevalent that workers in the area have been greatly intimidated. The company has manifested a policy of firing the most outspoken workers through the use of one pretext or another.

In Philadelphia the local branch is making marked headway in getting new members into the organization. Chairman Joseph Schwartz is talking

C. P. L. A. at every opportunity and his enthusiasm is transmitted to the other members.

On March 6, Israel Mufson will speak at the regular meeting of the Branch and Edith Stern, Secretary, advises that a large attendance will be on hand to discuss the present and future of the progressive cause in that locality.

One of the most energetic live-wires of the local is Edward Gentsch. He has taken unto himself the task of keeping *LABOR AGE* before the Philadelphia trade unionists on any and all occasions. Whenever groups of workers meet there Gentsch may be found with arms loaded with *LABOR AGES*. He disposed of 85 copies in so short a time that it taxes the national office force to supply him with sufficient copies.

The New York branch is celebrating its successful theater party which it held for the benefit of *LABOR AGE*. The net proceeds will amount to almost \$400 by the time all returns are in and while that is not sufficient to liquidate the Polish debt it certainly looked good in the pass book. Most credit for this achievement goes to Jennie Carliph who worked tirelessly for weeks, and to the rest of her committee who were loyal and indefatigable supporters of Miss Carliph's plans.

The intensive drive which the New York Branch has started among building, needle, printing and metal trades workers is progressing with satisfactory results. Conferences of the different groups are held regularly and new faces are seen at every meeting. The chairman of the committee has evolved a system that does not leave anything to chance and the results thus far attained show what persistence and good planning will do.

A new group to become interested in the progressive program is the International Mule Spinners Association of Adams, Mass. After reviewing a sample copy of *LABOR AGE*, the local became so convinced of the value of such literature to workers that it ordered, through its secretary, David Tosch, fifty copies of the March issue to be distributed to the active members of the union. The purpose is to get the membership to subscribe to the magazine and to receive a continuous flow of good union literature and become better informed on the facts of the day.

The Adams Mule Spinners are to be congratulated on their clear sightedness.

#### IV.

Social legislation is one of the important planks in the program of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Local branches can well consider agitation for unemployment and sickness insurance as well as old age pensions a worth while activity to become engaged in at once. When the national office was informed that a hearing on an old age pension bill would be held by the Committee on Labor, House of Representatives, it immediately requested J. F. Anderson of the machinists union and a resident of Washington, D. C., to represent us.

Anderson reports that the chairman of the committee, Congressman Kopp, called his committee to order, and asked all those who desired to be heard that day to rise, announcing whom they were representing. Among several others he arose and told the committee he was representing the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. Those who could not remain later than noon were then asked to state that fact. Unfortunately Anderson was not called that day and he couldn't leave his work again the next day.

Interest is added to the recently organized move for a labor party in Montana by the action of the State Highway Commission announcing a reduction in wages for all of its employees. Charles W. Gardner, the local active C. P. L. A. er will have a more detailed story about this whole business in the next issue of *LABOR AGE*.

#### V.

In reviewing C. P. L. A. activities it is in order to report on the state of workers education as a means of gauging the progressive activity of organized labor. What the status of workers education generally is in this country is revealed by the story of the conference held at Brookwood February 22-23 and published elsewhere in this issue. Here we note briefly the plans of the Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry, of which Miss Louise Leonard is Director and whose address is 209 West Madison Street, Baltimore, Md.

In 1930 this school will hold its six weeks session from July 10 to August 22 at the boys' school, Arden, N. C. "The rustic cottages, dormitories and school buildings," the announcement reads, "set up on a hill-top surrounded by pines, make Arden one of the most attractive sites in the mountains of Western North Carolina."

The aim of the school is to train industrial women to assume leadership

in their own groups. Those who may desire an education for "higher things," need not apply. All visiting labor leaders have agreed that the courses taught at the school are such as to prepare Southern working women for usefulness in the Labor Movement. They include economics, English composition, public speaking and health education. There is room at the school for 40 students. The school works in close harmony with the organized Labor Movement of the South.

Scholarships are offered to worthy applicants and those interested should apply immediately to Miss Leonard.

And to wind up the tale for this month a few bouquets modestly distributed, will help carry over enthusiasm for further effort in the future. We refer to the new *LABOR AGE*, nice things about which are still coming in from very much satisfied readers.

"The February issue of *LABOR AGE* keeps pace with the January number."

"Ever since I received and read a copy of *LABOR AGE*, sent to me a few weeks ago from your office, I've been trying to find time to thank you for it. Now I am taking the most definite way I know of to do so. I am enclosing my check for \$2.50 for a year's subscription."

"I don't know when I've received such a 'shot in the arm' as I got when I read that copy of *LABOR AGE*. I like your forthrightness—the way you hit out, according to your light and opinion—letting the 'chips fall where they may'."

No wonder that bundle orders are increasing and new friends are made for the publication daily. Walter L. Walmsley of New Bedford, Mass., is one of those who finds disposing of *LABOR AGE* increasingly easier and enlarges his orders accordingly. Samuel Fisher made a trip to Philadelphia recently and found the atmosphere very congenial for *LABOR AGE* representatives. He did excellent work in bringing the magazine to the attention of the Quaker City trade unionists, bringing back with him much good will and what is more important a hefty package of subs.

Members and interested friends should not forget the Regional Conference of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action which is called for Sunday, March 16. An excellent program, including discussion of subjects of immediate moment to labor, such as reports on the South, the steel industry and on the miners' situation is arranged. The full program is announced on Page 13 of this issue.

All C. P. L. A. ers and friends should keep March 16th open for this most interesting meeting.



# In Other Lands

## GREAT BRITAIN

Ramsay MacDonald, Labor Premier, has dropped out of the Independent Labor Party of Britain. He did not formally resign as Snowden did but simply notified his branch that he would not pay his annual dues. Snowden harshly said the I. L. P. had outlived its usefulness, MacDonald does not say likewise but implies the same thing. Thus the two most prominent men in the British Socialist Party desert it and give all their allegiance to the Labor Party which is controlled by the trade unions and at present very much diluted with men and women from the old Liberal Party.

Some hint that MacDonald resented the criticism of Maxton and the Left Wing Labor Party and I. L. P.ers and that his withdrawal from the Socialists was his way of repudiating them. No one for the nonce expects any repercussions from MacDonald's withdrawal from the I. L. P. but those who followed Keir Hardie's leadership are bound to turn on the Premier when the opportunity presents itself. Every one is aware that the Premier is not the "old Mac" of other days when he was the party's international secretary and when he was one of the most internationally minded men in Britain. Many, too, are aware that he is a bit supersensitive to criticism whether it be from the Liberals without or the Socialists within the party.

This time, the Premier has had almost a free hand except some perfectly natural opposition from the Tories and some not unfair and understandable criticism from the Left Wing members of his own party. The latter wanted a more realistic application of the Labor Party's principles and platform and promises. Even Cook who had turned moderate and who loyally supported MacDonald, gave vent to a note of despair. Still on the whole, the Premier and his conservative or Right Wing associates have had smooth sailing. Friend and foe admitted his brilliant performances in the field of foreign affairs, in Egypt and other countries. All too conceded the tremendous power of the bureaucrats and their ability to undo good work if not sabotage it.

The limitation of armaments conference struck a snag but even if it should be a failure MacDonald and the party come out the victor and have the world indebted to them. They have carried the cause of disarmament and the propaganda for small navies into every house and home in the civilized world and have

made such an impression that it will not be an easy matter to revive the naval race or to start in piling up huge armaments as of yore.

No serious strikes can be reported but the unemployed numbers are as large as ever. Fully over a million and a half are out of work and several thousand are on part time. All the fancy schemes for adjusting that complex situation have in part failed. Yet MacDonald and the party

## SOCIALIST LEADER



New Leader, London

### JAMES MAXTON

Chairman of Britain's socialist party (I. L. P.) whose criticism of MacDonald it is believed caused the Prime Minister to quit that party.

cannot be blamed for that. It will take years to make a serious dent in the unemployed problem, and that is even with everything going well.

## IRELAND

The Irish Labor Party is, according to a report of the Special Committee of its Trade Union Congress, to be separated from the unions. A declaration of principle or platform is adopted and new political machinery is set up. The party ought to be a formidable contender in the next general election.

## FRANCE

The downfall of the Tardieu cabinet meant the withdrawal from the London naval conference of the French delegates and the weakening of the proposals to limit navy building. The French are pretending to be at loggerheads with Italy and a sham battle between the two countries was waged at the London Naval Conference. The truth is, neither coun-

try wants the submarine curtailed much less abolished. As far as reducing the range of guns on warships, the Rock of Gibraltar which controls entrance to the Mediterranean Sea nullifies that suggestion. But for the submarine Italy and the south of France would be bottled up and that is why the conference is up against political realities that sentimental Americans do not appreciate.

## SPAIN

Spain changed from a severe to a mild form of dictatorship. It indicates that autocracy is near the end of its rope in Europe much to the disgust of our chauvinists. Parliamentary government of a sort will be given a trial but the real dictators, the ecclesiastical rulers, are a long way from being overthrown.

## RUSSIA

Anti-Soviet propaganda has set the world by the ears over alleged executions of Russian and Jewish clergymen. There was little substance to the stories sent out from European capitals regarding the anti-clerical persecutions and prosecutions. Senator Borah's wire to Litvinoff ended the tall stories regarding the executions of the Rabbis.

The five year industrial and socialization program of the Russian Government is to be ruthlessly pushed to the limit regardless of the feelings of the peasantry great or small. It is the Soviet answer to the critics who said that Communism had only touched the cities and that the country was largely peasant and capitalistic in its ideology.

## INDIA

There are many rumblings and alarms all over India. So far there is no serious revolt but there would be one had not a Labor Ministry been in London. Passive resistance and strikes but no great physical conflicts have taken place as a result of the proclamation of freedom. Gandhi is opposed to violence for he fears the Imperialists can play that game better than the untrained Hindoos.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.



## "Say It With Books"



### STRIKE PROHIBITION

The Labor Injunction, by Felix Frankfurter and Nathan Greene, The Macmillan Company, \$5.00.

IN connection with the collapse of the famous Pullman case, Eugene V. Debs testified that "the ranks were broken and the strike was broken up not by the army and not by any other power, but simply and solely by the action of the United States Courts in restraining us from discharging our duties as officers and representatives of the employees." Since that time the power of labor has brought about legislation having as its ostensible purpose the curbing of the power of the courts, particularly the Federal courts. But, as shown in the above work, the situation is now far worse than ever. In the words of the authors, the results justify "an application of a familiar bit of French cynicism, 'The more things are legislatively changed, the more they remain the same judicially.'"

As was once stated by Judge Holmes, the grounds of decision are policy, "and the advantages of the community on the one side and the other are the only matters really entitled to be weighed." Thus we have a class of cases depending less on the facts and the law than upon the emotions or economic views of the judiciary as to the advantages to the community on one side or another.

The injunctive process has even gone so far as to prohibit a strike. In one case the United Mine Workers "and all other persons whomsoever were restrained from giving any message regarding the strike, from 'doing any further act whatsoever;' from 'issuing any strike orders;' from 'issuing any instructions, written or oral;' from 'issuing any messages of encouragement or exhortation,' or from paying strike benefits." Injunctions have restrained miners from maintaining tent colonies, or from furnishing money, orders of money, or food to strikers. Injunctions have even been issued to prevent a union from disbursing funds for attorneys' services. In fact, it is difficult to conceive anything that a union might do against which it hasn't been enjoined,

#### The Hurdle Which Balks Labor

and this in spite of progressive legislation intended to curb the activities of the court.

Offhand no one would deny the proposition that men should not be restrained

authors refer to decrees that "in form are like the idiot's tale, 'full of sound and fury and signifying nothing.'" Such decrees, however, are effective, ordinarily granted *ex parte* at a period where time is important and when the slowing up of a strike even for a few days may result in defeat, the injunction thus accomplishing a purpose which often seems to be intended. Through such procedure workers are deprived of exercising their legal rights; they are likewise deprived of trial by jury. Not unnaturally the workers feel that they are denied justice. As was said by the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, this "is reason for grave concern for there are twenty-five millions of them of whom three millions are welded together into compact organizations."

In December, 1927, a proposed law governing labor injunctions was introduced by Senator Shipstead, in substance providing that equity courts have jurisdiction to protect property when there is no remedy at law, but that nothing should be held to be property unless it is tangible and transferable. The authors point out any such bill fails to distinguish between labor and other cases and to recognize that "industrial relations present distinctive problems." The bill of Senator Shipstead was referred to a Senate Committee on the Judiciary. A subcommittee submitted an amending bill which would limit the issuance of injunctions except after notice and hearing and except on proof of facts showing not only necessity, but that greater injury would be inflicted upon the complainant by the denial of relief than would be inflicted upon the defendants by the granting of relief. In addition to this, the bill restrains the courts by limiting the acts to be covered by an injunction.

It seems needless to say that a book by these authors is comprehensive, accurate, well written and readable. Those concerned with agitation for fair play for workers, might well base their case upon the facts and law as related in this effective work.

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS.

#### SHACKLED



Locomotive Engineers' Journal.

from doing things which they have a legal right to do, but as is said by the authors, "The demarcation between prohibitive and forbidden activity is a process phrased in legal vernacular and executed through legal concepts. Enough has been said of the substantive law to indicate that adjudication in these matters means placing a case upon one side or the other of an illusive line." In practice, however, injunctions are sanctions containing "vague and undefined terminology in 'dragnet' clauses, largely unenforceable and certainly unenforced," and this distorts "the injunction into a 'scarecrow' device for curbing the economic pressure of the strike \* \* \*." The



## PEACE TIME PATRIOTS

*Pacifism in the Modern World.* Edited by Devere Allen. Doubleday Doran, 1929. 278 pages. \$2.00.

**P**ROBABLY more misconceptions, more misapprehensions and popular fallacies have attached themselves to the pacifist movement than to any other social reform within recent times. To the militarist the pacifist is a slacker, an obstructionist, and generally anathema; to the non-church-goer he is a naive, trusting soul who takes religion in general and Jesus in particular too seriously; to the average man in the street, the pacifist if not a coward is a species of wrong-headed idealist who ought to be locked up; to the unthinking everywhere pacifism is mere war resistance in time of war. Fortunately, the increasing literature of the movement now affords us a volume that not only defies and disarms these criticisms but, what is far more important, clarifies the meaning and goal of pacifism and evaluates its program in the light of social science. In addition to the editor, nineteen educators, sociologists, labor leaders, and internationalists—among them, George A. Coe, Howard Thurman, Charles A. Ellwood, John Haynes Holmes, A. J. Muste, and Rabindranath Tagore—have contributed to the symposium, and the consensus of their message is that pacifism is not merely a protest against war, it is an effort toward a new and better social order throughout the world, a movement which, contrary to the general assumption, finds its impulse in time of peace.

Reformers are prone to rush in and divert legal machinery to their ends wherever opportunity offers, and many an excellent reform has been ruined by premature legislation. One of the most hopeful aspects of pacifism is that, realizing this danger, it is setting itself the primary task of educating and informing the public mind. We cannot legislate ahead of public opinion, and pacifists, while not disregarding or discounting the value of no-more-war measures, Kellogg treaties, and outlawry pacts, are attempting to lay the foundation for a pacific philosophy that will permeate our entire social order, our every human relation, and negate the possibility of war overcoming the forces that promote it. Not only does a pacifist urge the substitution of reason and justice for the archaic method of bloodshed in settling international disputes; not only does he personally abhor war and refuse to have a part in it; but more than either of these, he identifies himself with the forces in the world that are working for a new and

better society in which strife shall be abolished.

Paul Jones, in his opening paper, gives apt expression to this doctrine when he defines pacifism as "an attitude to life arising from a belief in human capacity for social action. . . . Life must be organized around the cooperative principle," he adds, "if it is to survive." Likewise, Roger Baldwin in discussing "Pacifism and the Criminal," has this to say: "Good will and friendship are the cement of social life. . . . In personal and public relations they stand the test of results just as surely as compulsion and violence always fail to achieve enduringly the results they aim at."

What of pacifism and labor? Has the one any message for the other? To what extent does pacifism envisage a world free from industrial exploitation and economic inequality? What is the pacifist's answer to the possibility of strife implicit in the unjust social order of today? Let two of the contributors, A. J. Muste and A. Fenner Brockway, answer. Says Mr. Muste: "The foremost task of the pacifist in connection with class war is to denounce the violence on which the present system is based and all the evil . . . this entails for the masses of men throughout the world, and to exhort rulers in social, political, industrial life, all who occupy places of privilege . . . to relinquish every attempt to hold on to wealth, position, power by force, to give up the instruments of violence on which they annually spend billions of wealth produced by the sweat and anguish of the toilers." The British Laborite opens his chapter with a definition of non-cooperation as "resistance to a wrongful authority, not by force but by refusal to cooperate in its imposition," and after a discussion of Gandhi and his influence in India, concludes with: "This pacifist method of resistance has enormous potentialities, but before it can be completely applied, those who are asked to practice it must be educated to an understanding of its significance." All of which is admirably summed up by the editor in his foreword: "Pacifism in our day directly challenges imperialism, industrial autocracy, punishment as a basis for penology, race prejudice, indeed every phase of the existing social order which thwarts fellowship and love."

In collecting this symposium Mr. Allen has done a great service not only to further his cause but to confirm the growing prestige of the pacifist movement. The book is one that should be on the reading list of every sincere lover of peace.

GLADYS E. MEYERAND.

## WHAT HAVE YOU? WHAT DO YOU WANT? HOW CAN YOU GET IT?

*Modern Industry, A Challenge to Workers*, by Katherine H. Pollak and Tom Tippet, issued by Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y. (mimeographed), \$1.00. Special rates for larger quantities.

**I**T took ten years of workers education to produce a textbook in economics for workers, whether for individuals or for study classes, that can be enthusiastically recommended. "Modern Industry: A Challenge to Workers" is the book and if it had been issued three or four years ago it would have saved this reviewer many a gray hair trying to figure out how to meet the needs of workers seeking learning within their experiences.

"Modern Industry" takes the inquiring worker into the home, the factory, into the realm of politics and government, into the trade union and company union and answers three main and important questions: What Have You? What Do You Want? How Can You Get It? Instead of bewildering the intellectual hungry with such mental headaches as the theory of marginal utility, the iron law of wages, what Adam Smith, Ricardo and Methuselah thought about this, that and the other, it gets down to the essentials of living and deals with tonsils and teeth, stockings and shoes, homes and health and covering all—with wages.

Above all, "Modern Industry: A Challenge to Workers" is alive! Life as the worker knows it is reviewed with fidelity of detail and lessons are drawn therefrom upon which to base opinions for action. But also, probably because of its realistic and popular approach it is scientific. No statement is made whether statistical or historical that is not borne out by references from experts whose conclusions are generally accepted as sound.

Those who have felt for many years that there was too much division in the presentation of information; that life does not separate history from anthropology, economics from sociology, politics from industry as they are in the usual classroom, can now find in this volume an answer to their perplexities. All of these are woven together into the panorama of living. Out of it comes an understanding of social development as a whole and the place of the individual within it that makes for clear thinking and intelligent action.

Workers will find "Modern Industry: A Challenge to Workers" the very thing they have been pining for in years. Study



groups will find it indispensable. The book is in two volumes, the pages neatly clipped together in heavy blue covers, with an introduction, a detailed table of contents, and suggestions for supplementary reading, review and discussion.

ISRAEL MUFSON.

## WORKERS STILL NEED UNIONS

The Five-Day Week in Manufacturing Industries, National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., 247 Park Ave., New York. \$1.50.

UNWITTINGLY "The Five-Day Week in Manufacturing Industries," besides analyzing the extent of the five-day week in industry, is a good answer to the cry, now almost universal, that American employers have become so interested in the welfare of their workers that labor unions are no longer necessary. For even where the five-day week has been introduced, and thus far it covers only 270 industrial establishments and 216,921 workers excepting building trades workers, the workers actually benefit thereby if they are organized. In most of the open shops the five-day week meant merely squeezing in the regular work hours in five instead of five and one-half days.

"The Five-Day Week in Manufacturing Industries" is a careful survey of the extent of this shorter work week. Emphasis is laid, however, not so much on the value of the five-day week to the workers, although this phase of the subject is given passing notice, but its effect on production, costs, wastes, efficiency and general attitude of management towards it. Including the Ford Motor Co., which comprises 80 per cent of the total, only 2.6 per cent of those engaged in manufacture now enjoy the shorter week.

While in about half the instances, and they are mostly in non-union shops, the workers aside from the two-day rest period, derived no very direct benefit from it, having to work longer hours during the first days at practically the same pay, the employers through increased production, greater punctuality and attendance, lessening of labor turnover and opportunity to tune up equipment were the greatest beneficiaries. For example, one firm reported that in 1920 the value of product per dollar of wages was \$5.11. In the first half of 1928 that value had risen to \$9.71.

A chapter on "The Trend Toward the Shorter Work Week" shows how organized labor is not only responsible for the present agitation for the five-day week but for every effort to reduce the working time from the very beginning of American industrial history.

That the five-day week, and perhaps even a shorter work week, could be introduced in industry at once is evident from the findings of this study that our equipment is never used to capacity.

"It is generally conceded that, except for brief periods, the productive capacity of the country's manufacturing facilities is seldom approached, and is even more rarely taxed, and yet the capacity of domestic and foreign markets to absorb industry's present output is, in general, all too easily satisfied," says the introduction.

Evidently it will take unionization of most industries to make the five-day week universal.

ISRAEL MUFSON.

## Chateau de Bures

Par Villennes, Seine et Oise  
17 MILES FROM PARIS, FRANCE  
Country Boarding School

To Prepare Boys for American Colleges.  
30 Acres. Own Farm. New Dormitories.  
Outdoor sleeping porches. Gymnasium.  
Athletic Fields. Modern, Progressive  
Methods. Music, Art, Science. French,  
English and American Masters.

For information address

Edwin Cornell Zavitz, Headmaster  
Chateau de Bures, Par Villennes, Seine-et-Oise, France

# LABOR AGE

Official Organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action

25c Per Copy

\$2.50 A Year

Published Monthly at  
104 Fifth Avenue, New York City

JAMES H. MAURER, President  
A. J. MUSTE, }  
A. J. KENNEDY, } Vice Presidents  
HARRY W. LAIDLER, Treasurer

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ, Managing Editor and Secretary  
LEONARD BRIGHT, Business Manager

## Directors

JAMES H. MAURER	C. W. FITZGERALD	JOHN C. KENNEDY
A. J. MUSTE	ALBERT FODOR	ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ
A. J. KENNEDY	CHAS. W. GARDNER	E. J. LEVER
HARRY W. LAIDLER	JOSEPH GILBERT	WALTER LUDWIG
LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ	CLINTON S. GOLDEN	ROBERT E. MACHIN
LEONARD BRIGHT	EDMOND GOTTESMAN	A. L. MATLACK
J. F. ANDERSON	TIMOTHY HEALY	ISRAEL MUFSON
JOHN A. BURNS	A. A. HEIST	WILLIAM ROSS
WALTER E. DAVIS	CARL HOLDERMAN	NATHANIEL SPECTOR
JUSTUS EBERT	PRYNS HOPKINS	H. A. SPENCE
ABRAHAM EPSTEIN	HARRY H. KAVILLE	

Labor Age is indexed in the Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Bureau

## Subscription Blank

Labor Age,  
104 Fifth Avenue,  
New York City.

Enclosed find \$2.50 for which  
enter for one year the subscription  
of

Name .....

Street .....

City .....



# WHAT OUR READERS THINK

## ANTI-INJUNCTION BILLS IN MASSACHUSETTS—

Dear Editor:

Massachusetts has one of the worst series of anti labor injunction decisions of any jurisdiction in the United States. Our state courts will declare a strike illegal and issue an injunction against all sorts of strike activity no matter how peacefully the strike is carried on, if they do not approve of the objects of the strike.

Among the strikes which the courts have declared illegal merely because of their objects are a sympathetic strike, a strike for a closed shop, a strike for a preferential union shop, a strike against the use of scab materials, a strike for recognition of the union, a strike against individual contracts or yellow dog contracts, a strike to compel the discharge of an objectionable foreman, and a strike to get an employer to sign an agreement with one union rather than another. Apparently, also a strike to compel the discharge of a non-union worker would be enjoined although that does not appear to have been decided. The courts have also held that when a strike has two objects, one legal, such as to raise wages, and the other illegal such as a strike for recognition of the union, the court will enjoin the strike.

Obviously with the law in such a state, it is impossible to organize the unorganized legally. In addition to that, the courts in this state have the power to issue an injunction without a hearing and then, with the injunction in force, hold hearings which may drag out for weeks as to whether it should be continued or dissolved.

To meet the problem of the courts issuing injunctions in labor disputes versus strikes which are peaceful but for objects of which the courts disapprove, two bills were introduced, one by the Socialist Party and the other by the Massachusetts Federation of Labor. Our bill simply forbids the courts to issue an injunction in a labor dispute against anything that is not a crime. It would completely remedy the situation, for strikes against individual contracts or the use of scab materials, strikes for the closed shop, for union recognition, or to compel the discharge of a foreman who is a petty tyrant, are not crimes but merely torts. However the A. F. of L. in our state declined to back our proposed law.

The bill of the Mass. Fed. of Labor is intended only to legalize a strike for a closed shop. It provides in effect that otherwise lawful actions by employers or employees shall not be deemed to be illegal merely because the object of such

actions is to secure the exclusive employment of persons belonging or not belonging to any association, organization, or union.

This bill obviously legalizes a lockout by employers to compel workers to sign a yellow dog contract because of the use of the words "or not belonging"; yet it is a bill introduced by the A. F. of L.!

Furthermore the bill would not accomplish its object of legalizing a strike for a closed shop, except in a very few cases, for an employer who was faced with the likelihood of such a strike could simply call together a few of the bosses' pets; form them into a company union, and sign an agreement with the company union. Then any strike for a closed shop would also be a strike to compel an employer to sign an agreement with one union rather than another and could be enjoined on the latter ground, even though the law to legalize a strike for a closed shop was passed, since it is settled in Massachusetts that a strike for two objects, one legal and the other illegal, will be enjoined. Or the employer could get a few of his men to sign individual contracts or yellow dog contracts, and then any strike for a closed shop would also be a strike against the individual contracts and could be enjoined on the latter ground.

I have pointed out the utter weakness and positive danger of their proposed law to the leaders of organized labor in this state, and as a result have been denounced for "trying to disrupt the unity of organized labor in Massachusetts."

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS, Boston.

## CONDITIONS IN HOCKING VALLEY

Dear Editor:

The coal companies, by organizing chain store groceries, are getting around their pledge to the local merchants not to start company stores in competition with them. These chain stores do not ask the miners directly to deal with them. But if a miner is broke before pay day he gets coupons from the company which are recognized only at these chain stores unless he is willing to discount them at 20 per cent for cash. By experience the miners have learned to discount the coupons and trade at the independent stores because the prices are so much lower at the latter.

Miners who deal at the company stores are favored by getting better jobs at the mines. There is not a mine in the State (Ohio) which is paying the 1917 scale. After 18 months of non union conditions the company scrip is coming back again. As soon as the union is entirely gone (and it is 'still going) the company

houses will be here and the coal industry will do no one any good except the coal company.

EDWARD MICHAEL, The Plains, O.

## GOOD OL' PETE—

Dear Editor:

Here is a true account of the appearance of two Southern Negro "share-cropper" peasants at the Golden Gate.

Slufoot Sam and his gal Lou,  
Rode up dar on er kangaroo;  
Dey rode up dar, ez sho' ez fate,  
Straight up dar ter de Pearly Gate;  
Dey knock en knock, twel ol' man Pete  
Come hurryin' down de Golden Street;

En den de say: "Am you de Saint,  
Is you who says who's in 'er aint?"  
Pete look at Sam, he look at Lou,  
En lakwuz at de kangaroo;  
En den he say: "Well, howdy doo!

Whut can we all do fo' you?"  
Den dis dey 'low: "We's sick of sin;  
We wanten know can we git in?

We's done our share down dar on

Earth,—

We's hoed de cotton fum our birth;  
We's paid more rent en interes', too,  
Dan Gawd hissef can count fo' you;  
We's wurked and scraped, en don't

know yet

How much we's in de landlord's debt;  
We's all wore out, we sho' is, Pete;  
We'd like er house on Easy Street."  
Den Pete he say: "Dat sho' wuz hell;  
Walk right in en res' er spell."

COVINGTON HALL

## RECOGNITION OF RIGHTS OF LABOR

Dear Editor:

I am but an ordinary citizen, under wages, and have a program of my own which is to commend or criticize editorial or other comment on the present social order or as I call it lack of system or "order."

It is my opinion that labor will get nowhere until the courts recognize that property rights earned by service (labor) are as sacred as those rights now confiscated by the distributor who is privileged to violate property rights of labor by his own misinterpretation of a system which is not permitted to operate to the protection of labor. In other words, we are supposed to have a system of economics, a plan of management according to the dictionary, but the law of supply and demand is applied to goods that have never received the initial distribution (buying and selling for other than personal use) and its use is not permitted to the laborer. The employer makes his own interpretation.

CHARLES P. KRAFT, Columbus, O.



# Correspondence Courses for Workers

Modern Industrial Problems, Public Speaking, Labor History, Others.

Offered by The Extension Department, BROOKWOOD, KATONAH, N. Y.

**H**AVE you ever noticed some of the subjects offered as correspondence courses by the large university extension departments? Astronomy, Investments, Boy Scouting, Calculus, Photoplay Composition, Portuguese, Greek, Business Mathematics, Manufactured Gas, Fire Insurance, Harmony, etc.!

Such subjects have little value for industrial workers. Before they have the time or money to go into the intricacies of Spanish Grammar or Actuarial Mathematics, they want to know something about such practical questions as why they HAVEN'T more leisure time and more wages so they can study. Must they be unemployed? Can industry afford to pay them more? What is the business cycle, that mysterious prosperity-and-depression social force? What is there to this wide-spread talk of prosperity anyway?

## PUBLIC SPEAKER

Perhaps they are active in a trade union or other fraternal or social group, where they are called on to get up and make a speech now and then, or conduct parliamentary meetings. Do they know the tricks of speaking effectively, of making motions, of collecting facts to talk about?

## WHENCE THE LABOR MOVEMENT?

Many workers are curious about the origins and growth of the American Labor Movement, why it started, its early struggles, its notable victories and tragic defeats, and something about its present tendencies and policies.

It is for people like these that Brookwood has started a correspondence department, with courses as follows:

## 1. Modern Industrial Problems

*How Industry Treats Its Workers*  
Wages, Unemployment, Life on the Job  
Waste in Industry

*How We Got That Way*  
Rise of Property-Owners and Wage-Earners  
Growth of Industry

*What Can Be Done*  
Government and the Workers  
Welfare Capitalism  
Trade Unions

*Changes Needed In the Way Industry Is Run*



## 2. Public Speaking

This is a course in speaking for the Labor Movement.

It deals with such subjects as  
Introducing a Speaker  
Making an Announcement  
Speaking to a Resolution  
Rendering a Report  
Arguing Before a Wage Commission  
Planning an Extended Speech.

It includes an introduction to the technic of delivery, enlarging your vocabulary, approaching your audience, etc.

## 3. Labor History

This is a more advanced course divided as follows:

- Getting a foothold up to the time of the Civil War.
- Experimenting with ideas and activities, and forms of organization: Civil War to Spanish-American War.
- Struggling against Modern Capitalism: Spanish-American War to Great War.
- Combating welfare capitalism and large-scale industry: Great War to the present time.

## 4. Trade Union Problems and Policies

(Ready in the spring, 1930)

This course deals with such questions as

How a trade union works  
Chief types of trade unions  
Functions and methods of unions

Industrial unionism vs. craft unionism

Relations between unions and employers

How the A. F. of L. works  
Problems of trade union government

Labor and the government  
Organizing the unorganized

*If you want further information about any of these courses, or if you know of anyone who would be interested in them, please write to*

THE SECRETARY,  
CORRESPONDENCE COURSES,  
BROOKWOOD, KATONAH, N. Y.

## "MODERN INDUSTRY — A CHALLENGE TO WORKERS"

By Katherine H. Pollak and Tom Tippet

is a simply written, readable book in mimeographed form, full of stimulating facts. It is used for the correspondence course in Modern Industrial Problems, and, with supplementary material, for the course in Public Speaking.

The book costs \$1 per single copy; 75c per copy for 10 or more copies, and 50c per copy for 25 or more copies. The book can also be used as a basis for

## GROUP STUDY

with a discussion leader, whom the Extension Department can perhaps help to provide. Sections of "Modern Industry" are also available separately at 25c for one section, and 15c for each additional copy. Sections cover such subjects as wages, unemployment, life on the job, labor and the government, trade unions, welfare capitalism, changes needed in industry, etc.

*If you want a copy of this book, or detailed information about it, write to The Secretary, Brookwood, Katonah, N. Y.*